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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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GEMS OF THOUGHT

ITEMS TAKEN FROM OCCURRENCES OF THE DAY.

And Interpreted from Socialist Standpoint—"Civilization" and Its Accompaniments—Workers Not Considered in Scheme of Capitalist Political Government.

Vol. L, No. 1, of "The Plebe Magazine," a Socialist publication undertaken by the "Plebe League" of Ruskin College, Oxford, England, made its bow at this office on the 18th of this month. The Weekly People cordially returns the bow, with wishes for success. A sentence in one of our new contemporary's editorials—"Truths are not put down by mental inhumanity, they are simply put off"—is a good star to be guided by, provided the eye is not shut to this other and supplementary star—"A sure way indefinitely to delay the realization of a truth is to call anything by the truth's name."

Of Washington Artemus Ward said "he never stopped over," which was another way of saying that genius, however seemingly eccentric its orbit, never flies off at a tangent. The "Marcellaine," the strain that thrilled the bourgeois Revolution of France to triumph, can surely not be the strain to which that same bourgeois social system will be dethroned by the proletarian Revolution. But, when Bernard Shaw sweepingly pronounces the "Marcellaine" as a tune that "would kill any movement" ("Would it did!" exclaim the bleaching bones of Fendallism)—when Bernard Shaw says that, then the gentleman "slops over."

A recent French painting depicts "The First Eve" as a sinuous serpent which a luscious Eve is twining in her hair. This painting should be adopted as coat-of-arms by the anti-suffragists who plead that the vote would give "immoral women" a control of politics, ignoring absolutely the fact that it is economic conditions created by men, who have the vote, which drives these women to become "immoral," and that it is men, who again have the vote, who purchase their "immorality."

"Every civilized, and, indeed, I may say semi-civilized, nation in the world has a bankruptcy law of some kind to-day"—was the observation proudly made on the floor of the House of Representatives by Charles Q. Tirrell of Massachusetts on the 5th of this month. According to the Hon. Tirrell bankruptcy laws are barometers of civilization. Are there bankruptcy laws in a nation? then that nation is either civilized or semi-civilized, according to the comprehensiveness of the law; are there no bankruptcy laws in a nation? then that nation is savage or barbarian. The Hon. Tirrell breathed the spirit of his "civilization." There would be no bankruptcies were there not confiscation practiced on a large scale. What the Hon. Tirrell said amounts to this: Where there is civilization there is confiscation; where there is confiscation there must be bankruptcy laws; consequently, bankruptcy laws are symptoms of civilization.

How close the analogy between the impotent essaying and hectoring of the Republican members of the House of Representatives by the Democratic dits in the latter's attempt to keep up the bar to Senator Knox's eligibility as Secretary of State—how close the analogy between these performances and the performance in London of the suffragettes in the attempt to reach the House of Commons by air route, land route and water route, over the heads and over the bodies of the fat Cockney police! How close the analogy between the Republican Congressmen and the self same fat and puffy London Cockney police in their endeavors to quell the "rioters"!

The Standard Oil's offer to the State of Missouri to go into a sort of partnership with it sets forth as one of the objects to be obtained a "fair, just, lawful, and proper treatment to the public as well as to the property, company and its real owners." Conspicuous by their absence as beneficiaries on the list are the workmen, Standard Oil is not deceived by words. It knows that political government means capitalist class government, and that, under such a government, the

working class do not count, any more than cattle.

President McCrea of the Pennsylvania Railroad writes an official letter to a certain other official informing the latter that, during the year 1908, his road had killed 457 and injured 791—what? Cows? Sheep? Hogs? No—it had killed 657 and injured 791 "trespassers," that is, men out of work, looking for work, and, being too poor to pay for transportation, stealing a ride. And to what official was the letter addressed? To Orlando F. Lewis of the Charity Organization Society.

There is just a little bit of information wanting to the press despatches from Omaha that report the quitting of the Prohibition party by John G. Woolley, its Presidential candidate in 1900, and otherwise a rampant advocate of the Prohibitionist political faith. Mr. Woolley is reported to base his conduct on the ground that "the usefulness of the Prohibition party is ended." What is wanting in the despatches is information of the lure, or promise of lure, outside of the Prohibition party that caused Mr. Woolley to take his present view of things.

Elliot Flower's article on "Uncle Sam's Vanishing Wealth" in "La Follette's" contains a short sentence that is a matchless pen-picture of foot-in-the-mouth capitalist society. The passage is: "We are losing a billion tons of fertile soil each year by erosion, largely the result of floods that have followed deforestation, and we are kept busy dredging this soil out of our navigable rivers in order to keep them navigable."

"Why don't you tell us that it is wrong to cut up poor animals?" insisted Miss Gregory in the lecture room at Columbia University when Dr. Albert Leffingwell refused to speak against vivisection. On the same page of the morning papers containing this report, and, in several of them, in contiguous columns, was the report of 450 miners cut up and entombed in the Durham mine. Against the "cutting up of poor workingmen" these vivisectionists have not a word to say.

The "proletarian element" in local New York of the Socialist party had better "go slow." This thing of passing "scathing resolutions" against Robert Hunter and other "eminences" for "contemptuous treatment"—such as was bestowed upon the said proletarian element when the "eminences" raised themselves into a Chinese Wall around Kehr Hardie, never allowing them even to touch the hem of his Parliament toga, to say nothing of granting them never a taste or even a smell of the wine and other goodies that they feasted the "English Marxian" with—this thing of "condemning" such acts may ease the stomach of the mind of the said "proletarian element," but it may have rather disagreeable practical consequences. The eminent owners of the "Call" may give the innocent denouncers a second taste of private ownership of the "party press." One taste of that sort of thing should be enough. It was given when the life was squeezed out of the "Bogus People," subsequent "Worker" and final "New York Socialist" by "private owners" in order to prove that party ownership was impractical. The denounced eminent owners of the "Call" may walk away with it.

The Mackay Company reports that it does not fear any strikes from its Postal Telegraph Association employees. The company announces there is "peace in Warsaw." The said Association of employees has been organized by the Company and is officered by the Company. This is the latest form of partnership between Capital and Labor.

Miss M. Rosenberg of an I. W. W. Local in New York, without the knowledge or consent of the Editor of The People, challenged last year Emma Goldman to a debate with him. Emma Goldman's answer confines this passage as a reason for declining the challenge: "Mr. De Leon has for a number of years willfully and maliciously misrepresented the Anarchists and the movement I represent, that I do not care to debate with him." Emma Goldman's declination does credit to her intelligence; nor is the lady's perspicacity impaired by the girl's petulance of the alleged "reason" for declining. The People has broken the backbone, ribs and skull, the legs and arms of "Anarchist philosophy." She realizes the fact, most of her associates do not. That much to her credit, it

IF LINCOLN KNEW!

It should not require the analytical penetration of a Poe to discern the peculiarly ignoble use that noble Lincoln has been put to—or attempted to be put to—by his this year's praise-singers. At the recurring anniversaries of the Washingtons, the Jeffersons and other celebrities of the land their great achievements and their distinguished abilities are extolled. This, indeed, was also done with regard to Lincoln. Nevertheless in this year's "Lincoln orations," or articles—whether proceeding from Canadian Goldwin Smith, or Presidential Roosevelt; whether proceeding from Carnegie, or this Senator, or that Representative, or any of the raft of vocal College Presidents—a particular effort was made to particularly emphasize a LIE—the alleged "pinching poverty" of Lincoln's youth "which in nothing interfered with his march to headship."

The "pinching poverty" of many of our truly great men is usually a mere poetic fiction to answer rhetorical exigencies. In the instance of Lincoln, this year—in the midst of the intensifying consequences of an unparalleled crisis; with over a thousand "vagrants" admittedly killed and injured by one single railroad line; with the large

number of bankruptcies telling of untold and secretly borne privations; with breadlines swelling with thousands of people admittedly there through no fault of their own; with a simultaneous brazen display of increasingly Asiatic luxury; and with, as a consequence, widespread, and all the more ominous because still silent, discontent—at such a time the outburst of macaroni, indulged in over Lincoln's "pinching poverty," is a deliberate fabrication for a purpose.

No doubt the migrations from Kentucky to Indiana, Illinois and farther West, to which the Lincoln family belonged, were not undertaken on railroads. No doubt these emigrants did not enjoy the comforts of running water, that did not always run; of gas, less yet electric lights; of the facilities of closets within doors that bred typhus; or the luxuries of a great variety of canned and embalmed edibles. No doubt the pictures of their log cabins compare badly with the pretentious stone front double-deckers in which the workers are to-day pigeon-holed. Nevertheless "pinching poverty" was alien to the former.

Though humble in aspect, there was dignity to their homes. As to food, all the works descriptive of those days—

argues intelligence to eschew the exhibition of a public trowling. Less creditable to Emma Goldman's mental integrity is the lady's continuing to derive revenue on the public platform with sentimental declamations in favor of a "philosophy" that she realizes is smashed to fragments.

"Museum of Safety and Sanitation" is the wrong name of an organization and its publication financed by Frank A. Vanderlip, and located at 29 West 39th street in N. Y. city. Both organization and publication should be named "The Self Sparker." Here is one of the spankings this organ of a capitalist body administered to itself: "The traction roads in this city kill about 250 persons a year, and injure between 2,000 and 3,000, paying for doing it more than they pay for fuel with which to run the engines that furnish the power to the cars."

A "wise guy" is Mr. J. Edelstein of the New York so-called Socialist party. He proposes that a sick and death benefit fund be annexed to his political party. Just as soon as a craft union begins to realize that its craft unionism promises fail to rope in members, or to keep them when roped in, it starts some sick and death benefit side-show. Thus the trick of the "illusion of property," with which top capitalism keeps middle class folks lashed to its chariot wheels, is played upon the workers. Pure and simple Unionism and pure and simple Politicism—to two bodies with one soul.

The Weekly People hopes it will not be indicted for criminal libel by the Grand Jury of the District of Columbia for thinking, and expressing the thought, that "Killwinning," the name of the Masonic Lodge in which President-elect Taft was initiated at Cincinnati on the 18th of this month, is a peculiarly fit name for an organization joined by the present head-and-front of the Capitalist System, with the Panama mesa as a little symbol; and also that Messrs. Charles Taft, the brother of the President-elect; Robinson, the brother-in-law of the expiring President; and Cromwell, the genius of "Panama," "Santo Domingo," "Harrimanism" and so many other ingenuities, belong likewise in a body named "Killwinning."

Hard upon the heels of Carnegie's announcement that the price of steel is to be cut from \$24 to \$24, comes the further announcement that a cut in wages "to make up the deficit" is also contemplated. Under no circumstances must the "deficit" be made up out of the fat dividends which the stockholders pocket. Further light is thrown upon the reason for making labor pay the price for the cut by the fact that while the reduction in prices is only one-seventh, the cut which wages are to suffer threatens to be a much greater fraction. Of the Steel Trust it may truly be said, "Its losses are its gains."

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ARE THINGS IMPROVING?

OR GETTING WORSE?—A VITAL QUESTION ANSWERED.

The Workingman's Life Is Steadily Declining in Length and Comfort, Daniel De Leon Proves in Comprehensive Address—Steady Decline, However, Is Caused by Circumstances Which Spell Revolution.

"Are Things Improving or Getting Worse?" was the question asked and decisively answered by Daniel De Leon on Feb. 16 at Maennershor Hall, 203 East Fifty-sixth street, in one of the lectures of Section New York, S. L. P.'s, splendid winter course. The rain seemed to have had no effect on the large audience, and the interesting address was followed with a closeness which showed that its lessons were sinking home in the minds of those who heard it.

"No answer can be given to this question by Yes or No," declared the lecturer in beginning. The matter must be approached from several sides, systematically.

If things are getting better, there must be symptoms of it; likewise if they are getting worse. One symptom to be considered is the physical condition of the workman as indicated by his longevity, and his efficiency while at work. One statement made on this subject is that of the British Consul, in Chicago. Reporting to his government on the condition of the employed class, he said: "If a machinist in the U. S. has reached his 42nd year, and is out of work, it is hard for him to get another job. If he worked as hard as he is expected to, he is so completely worked out that no body wants him. But if he is still strong and robust, it shows he has not worked as hard as he was expected to, and no one wants him anyhow."

A year or so ago the Typographical Union Journal said the mortality in its union was appalling, out of all relation to the mortality in the days of hand composition. The strain upon the machine compositor's mind is intensified; he sits over a melting pot which exhales poisonous gases. Hence, no wonder the death rate is stupendous. This would seem to be a symptom that things are getting decidedly worse.

"To take another symptom," continued De Leon, "to-day's papers contained the news of the opening, 'With great rejoicing,' of the new Municipal Lodging House, with a capacity of 1,000. The number of homeless men—and women—is obviously increasing. Even women with their children have to be provided for there—the number of homeless families is increasing. Take that as symptom No. 2.

"For symptom No. 3, there were recently over 1,300 men killed and injured on the Pennsylvania R. R. alone, as 'trespassers.' These men were 'beating

those works not being written to order at a season when Plunder and Exploitation are beginning to reap the hurricane, and when it is deemed advisable to narcotize into imbecile acquiescence the truly poverty pinched of to-day—those works tell a tale very different from that of 'pinching poverty.' The work 'The Making of a Nation,' for instance, makes particular mention of the Lincoln family itself. The Lincolns' wedding feast was not exquisite, but ample and good. It would feed whole breadlines of to-day. The wild turkey was a meal ready for the emigrant's gun to bring down, and fresh fish, and fresh air, and personal dignity raised the Lincoln generation far above the carping cares and irritations that the poverty, known of to-day, afflicts the masses with.

If the man who said: "The candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government, upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers"—if the man, who prophetically, and warningly and rebelliously uttered these words, only knew to what uses the Spirit that he fought, and overthrew, but has re-risen is seeking to turn his anniversary!

their way' in search of employment. This tells of a condition of uncertainty of living which throws added light on the other two symptoms.

"The 4th symptom I want to take from another official publication. Here is the 65th report of the N. Y. Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. I know charity concerns always understate; but even at that, this one says that in the last year it has had 10,762 families in charge, an increase of sixty per cent. over the previous year." Further, that "there were among our families 12,000 children of school age needing relief." And now hold your breath. It is the stereotyped argument of charity organizations that destitute people are so because of 'shiftlessness,' 'laziness,' 'drunk,' etc. But here is the statement: "The number of applicants brought to us through no fault of their own, is ninety per cent." If ninety per cent. of these people are left so destitute as to be thrown upon public charity, it can only be that their wages were so low they could not prepare for a rainy day. A larger and larger number of people must be becoming dependent on the employer's readiness to give them work; and when they are employed, their wages will only keep them a short month from the poorhouse. When we find that in a single city, 10,000 families are in this condition, it shows that more and more of the people of the country are being thrown into wage slavery, and that their share of their product is sinking ever lower. The country began under conditions such that every American, male and female, could look forward to attaining economic independence, such as it was. Men gladly became apprentices, and girls servants, well knowing that in a few years they would be able to become householders in their own right. In the U. S. to-day there are 500,000 school children underfed, and with some physical defect or another. These 500,000 children underfed imply an amount of poverty that you may imagine for yourselves. That they are physically defective tells another tale; it tells of improper maternal conditions. Women are unsexed by the nature of the work they have to perform, especially in the New England States. When Mr. Robert Hunter says the reason the native American has not populated the country is because of the 'hordes of Europe,' he should be told that it is because the native American woman is to such a large extent forced to take up unsexed work.

"Another symptom is the decrease of marriage. We know that when marriages decrease it is an evidence of increased difficulty in living. Marriages are decreasing at a terrific rate, and divorces are increasing proportionally. With husband and wife, that happens which happens to partners in business. When business goes well, there is no clash. But let business go bad, and each discovers 'flaws' in the other, and the partnership is shattered. The number of divorces is an index of hardship in the home, inducing clashes. This is symptom No. 5 that things are deteriorating.

"For another symptom, the 6th in the series, take the constitution of the Postal

Telegraphers' Union, which gives the company which rules them the right of absolutely running the affairs of the Union, thus relinquishing all the self-governing rights conquered by the American Revolution. This voluntary relinquishing of rights can only point to decline.

"All these things," the speaker said, "point to a growing worse of conditions. Moreover, if we look at the figures, wages have gone down. But they have gone down even further than the figures indicate. I have often polled my audiences for raises of wages. In my last trip across the continent I found only one man whose wages had gone up in the last eight years, and he admitted that eight years ago he had not been of working age.

"Unions seem to raise wages. Say a man earns \$2 daily. In 300 working days in a year, he would get \$600. He joins a union. His wages are raised to \$3. But owing to the increased uncertainty of work, he may work only 100 days. At the end of the year he has \$300. His wages have gone up! his EARNINGS have gone down. The decrease in earnings, then, is symptom No. 7.

"Then there is the adulteration of goods. Senator Stewart of Idaho, speaking in the Senate on December 12, 1906, said: 'I do not think the country has any idea of the poisons administered in foods. It is sapping the constitution of the people. If we had to raise soldiers as we did in 1861, I doubt whether we could find them.' Clothing is also frightfully adulterated. The result of this on health and life is obvious. There is symptom No. 8.

"So much for the physical condition of the people. The land is also being deteriorated. Fertile land is wasted, forests destroyed, etc. The country is being treated as Europe was by the Vandals.

"In all the recent Lincoln speeches, great point was made of Lincoln's 'pinching poverty.' That is an absolute lie, deliberately told to narcotize people's senses against the actual pinching poverty of to-day. Lincoln's family, and the Kentucky migration of which it formed part, may not have had the supposed 'comforts' of to-day, but they had food and clothing in abundance.

"So, then, things are getting worse. But is it a misfortune? No, it is a decided fortune. The sufferings of any social period cannot be looked at in the abstract. The present social distress is a condition that does not portend worse, it portends better—it portends revolution. The present physical sufferings and discomfort are marshalling the people into shape for the next step in industrial government.

"And it is not the suffering which is making for progress, but the conditions which underlie and cause it. Those conditions are drilling the race to its duty in overthrowing the class which is to-day standing between it and plenty."

TREADWELL MINERS' STRIKE. Douglas, Alaska, February 4.—The strike in the Treadwell mines in Douglas, Alaska, is still in progress there, and hundreds of sturdy, honest and true miners are struggling for an eight-hour day and living conditions. These miners ask that they may toil in these "slaughter shops" eight hours for a paltry wage and afterwards be able to enjoy it in peace with their families. Even this has been denied them.

Workingmen are asked not to listen to employment agents who say that there is work on Douglas Island. These agents generally say that help is needed on railroads and sawmills. There are no railroads short of Skagway. Another lie which these agents tell is that all the strikers are Slavonians.

The Douglas Miners' Union has issued an appeal asking all workingmen to stay away from the mines, so as to allow the strikers to win their fight.

THE PARTY FESTIVAL. The Daily and Weekly People Festival arranged by Section New York, Socialist Labor Party, and held in Grand Central Palace on Sunday, February 21, was a brilliant success in point of attendance and in the enjoyment provided. The financial returns will also measure up well. It is as yet impossible to give figures, there being many receipts outstanding. But a round surplus has been produced for Section New York and the Party Press. The bazaar at this festival far outshined that of last Thanksgiving day, the Party's many friends and supporters having sent a collection of splendid gifts.

SYDNEY LETTER

AUSTRALIAN "WORKERS' PARADISE" A MYTH.

Labor There Exploited and Beaten Same as Here—Lockout of Broken Hill Miners—That 'Labor Party'—Free Speech Suppressed—Jack London Feasted by Bourgeois.

Sydney, N. S. W., Australia, January 18.—After eighteen years of "Labor" legislation the workers of Australia are still in the category of merchandise, bought and sold in the open market. Unemployment is rampant, and strikes and lockouts are the order of the day. Wages have declined and commodities have risen, and the class war goes interminably on in this Australia, the "Workers' Paradise," the "Socialist Utopia" that Upton Sinclair refers to in the concluding chapters of his work, "The Jungle."

Capitalism is the same the world-over; its business methods never vary. Here as elsewhere the machine goes in and the man goes out. Adulterated food and shoddy clothing only for the workers, who, after years of strenuous toil for their tyrant masters, are thrown on the scrap heap.

At this writing, the craft union miners of the Barrier Silver mines, Broken Hill, in the far west of N. S. W., are locked out by the owners, who seek to reduce the slavery pittance of the miners. Abortive conferences were held but without avail.

The population of Broken Hill is about 35,000, mostly miners. The dividend drawing parasites live in regal splendor in London, and in the large Australian cities.

The largest mine, "The Proprietary," mines 40,000 tons of ore monthly and in twenty years has mined 9,000,000 tons, paying \$45,000,000 to its wage slaves while \$60,000,000 in dividends have gone into the capacious pockets of its idle shareholders, who have not had to suffer its tropical heat, nor be slain and maimed in the cuttings, nor be loaded, nor take the risks that the workers constantly run.

The Broken Hill miners are militant and progressive, there being a good leaven of Socialists among them.

The State "Labor" party's precious piece of legislation, the Arbitration Act, proved an absolute failure and the autocratic State government rushed through the Legislature a hideous abortion called "The Industrial Disputes Act," rendering strikes and picketing illegal, and under which strikers can be incarcerated and their union funds confiscated. This Act raised but a feeble protest from the Labor party. Truly, Australia is the 'Fakers' Paradise, not the Workers'.

Prior to the lockout large bodies of police were drafted to Broken Hill at the instigation of the master class. The mines were picketed by the locked out men to induce those already in the mines to come out. On January 9, while the pickets were being changed, a skirmish occurred between the police thugs and the miners, many men being ruthlessly clubbed. Tom Mann, the union's organizer, and prominent leaders were arrested and hustled unceremoniously to the local bull pen. They fought valiantly against overwhelming odds, but the armed police thugs had the advantage against unarmed men. The miners, on the advice of their leaders, wisely refrained from being drawn into a riot, thereby giving their enemies a pretext to mow down by machine guns.

Many explosions occurred through the agency of the mine owners. The purpose of this manoeuvre was to alienate public sympathy from the miners. Flaring head-and-sensational columns appear in all the capitalist dailies, and their hiring press reporters are on the field to fake reports for their masters.

The police thugs were carried to Broken Hill by the railroad craft unions. Fisher, the Federal "Labor" Premier, says the constitution must not be violated, and the Federal troops will be sent to suppress the strike if called upon by the State. McGowan, State "Labor" leader of N. S. W., says "the law must be obeyed."

Organized on craft union lines, the

(Continued on Page 2.)

WHAT MEAN THESE STRIKE STATISTICS?

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR IS IMPOTENT—INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION IS THE ONLY ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION.

By Axel Staal, Jersey City, N. J.

I was looking through the World Almanac, when the words "Strikes and Lock-Outs" caught my eye. I saw there the following statistics:

Strikes ordered by labor organizations.

Percentage of establishments in which strikes—

	Succeeded	Succeeded partly	Failed
1891.....	64.99	6.71	28.30
1892.....	58.36	9.54	34.10
1893.....	64.07	18.81	17.62
1894.....	55.63	3.75	41.13
1895.....	62.42	10.53	27.00
1896.....	32.49	20.45	46.06
1897.....	48.24	7.19	44.45
1898.....	56.17	4.99	38.84
1899.....	45.61	21.27	33.02
1900.....	52.99	10.17	35.84
1901.....	35.46	8.10	53.44
1902.....	39.32	8.75	51.92
1903.....	52.94	10.93	35.17
1904.....	37.25	12.67	49.93
1905.....	59.25	10.65	30.70
1906.....	62.47	6.53	30.98
1907.....	59.67	29.51	10.82
1908.....	69.74	6.15	24.11
1909.....	76.32	14.19	9.48
1910.....	48.04	21.95	29.99
1911.....	50.23	17.19	32.45
1912.....	46.21	22.72	27.97
1913.....	41.72	22.77	34.51
1914.....	35.75	15.59	48.56
1915.....	41.52	11.20	47.12

What do these figures tell?

If you take the percentage of strikes lost in 1904 and 1905, we see that only in the beginning of the "nineties," under Cleveland's second administration, did the percentage of strikes lost equal that of 1904 and 1905. And while Cleveland's administration was marked by great unemployment, the years of 1904 and 1905 were, as Roosevelt says, of "unparalleled prosperity." If the figures for 1907 and 1908 were available, I believe they would show a still more disastrous result to the wage worker.

The average duration of strikes varied from 12.7 days in 1881 to 25.5 days in 1904. The percentage of establishments in which strikes occurred which were closed by strikes, varied from 53.2 per cent. in 1895 to 45.4 per cent. in 1905. In these ten years the trade unions lost half of their power to force the factories and mills to close in case of strikes, despite a great gain in membership. The striking lithographers managed only to close ten per cent. of the establishments against which strikes were declared. Remember this for later reference. The increase in membership, in other words, did not bring strength to the trade union movement any more than the increase in membership in the Socialist party brings us to Socialism.

Therefore the principles and tactics of the trade unions MUST be wrong.

The unions should protect the workman against capitalist exploitation, and through strikes attack the capitalist in an endeavor to better the condition of the workers.

Two countries each have ten battleships with single armor plate and four to six inch guns. The one country builds ten new battleships with double armor plate and four to twelve inch guns, while the other country builds twenty battleships similar to their old ships. In an ensuing battle the six inch shells cannot penetrate the double armor plate, and the single armor plate ships under the heavy twelve inch shells. The many, but antiquated ships consequently lose the battle.

Such is the conflict between the trade unions and the capitalists of today.

The capitalists have developed the wonderful industries in the last few years, and through the substitution of machines for skilled tradesmen encased themselves in double armor plate. These great money powers are also firing heavier shells against the unions in the form of court decisions, rendered by judges, who, if Senator Tillman is right, are to a great extent in the pay of the corporations.

And there stand the trade unions. Their defense has only been slightly strengthened through the increase in membership, but their weapons of attack are the same and as useful as a thin stick for punishing an elephant. You may annoy the elephant a little, but that is all.

If the unions are to be the weapon of the workingman on the economic field, their principles must be changed. The fight is against capitalist-owned industries, and only industrial organizations of the workers have a chance in this "fight" to a finish. If we are industrially organized, our shell, the

strike, will penetrate to the interior and be felt as a mighty force in ALL parts of industry, and not like a sting in some limb or member of the same.

By describing what took place in a strike in Denmark in 1908 the reader may see how industrial tactics brought about a speedy victory. The unions of Copenhagen are not as yet industrially organized, but being dominated by the Socialist element and in favor of sympathetic strikes, they can accomplish almost as much as an industrial organization.

On the 10th of August, 1908, a strike with results unparalleled in the history of labor organizations, was started in the city of Copenhagen, Denmark. The lithographers employed in the book-printing establishments were on strike for the enforcement of the eight-hour day. Their work-day up to the strike declaration was nine hours.

The "Book-printing Trades Employers' Association," belonging to the "Masters and Employers' Association," ordered a lock-out which included, besides the lithographers, all union typographical workers employed in the book-printing plants, as these would not work with non-union lithographers. The typographical union then declared a general strike of all members working in places where the employer belonged to the "Employers' Association. This strike was declared August 10, 1908. The Employers' Association answered with a lock-out, which included 2,500 typographical men and 1,000 paper-mill workers and 800 book-binders. So complete was the solidarity and the class-consciousness of the workers that the morning of August 11 Copenhagen was with only three newspapers instead of twenty. These three newspapers were "Social-Demokraten," the party-owned organ of the Danish Socialists, "Aftenbladet," an afternoon paper, privately-owned, but Socialistic, and "Kristeligt Dagblad," a religious newspaper not allied with either the typographical union or the Employers' Association.

Never had the people of Copenhagen seen the like. No morning or afternoon papers except "those pesky Socialistic sheets," that had precipitated this state of affairs," as the dear reactionaries expressed themselves. Eleven of the largest capitalistic newspapers united and by the help of a few scabs attempted to print a small newspaper of four pages, the total contents of which could find space on one page of an ordinary edition. For three days this paper, called "Pressen," appeared, then it stopped for lack of scabs.

One of the eleven newspapers bought a page in a paper, published in Malmö, Sweden. This page contained news printed in Danish and copies were brought to Copenhagen, a rail of two hours. Twice this edition appeared, then the Swedish typographical men declined to set any type in the Danish language. The Danish newspaper then ordered 20,000 copies of the regular Swedish edition, but the union men laid down their work and declined to print more than the usual number of copies for the local subscribers.

Another newspaper, arranged with a Danish paper printed in Flensburg, Germany, for the sending of a copy of this paper to all their subscribers, as long as the strike lasted. But the typographers in Flensburg threatened to strike if this agreement was carried out.

The last attempt was to hire typewriters and send the newspapers out typewritten.

The indignation and rage of the capitalists increased when the provincial newspapers stopped. All over the country the workingmen, sympathizing with their comrades in Copenhagen, struck.

In the little ridiculous publication, "Pressen," appeared the following letter from the Employers' Association:

To the Public.

Dansk Typograf Forbund (Danish Typographical Union) has declared strike on all the printing houses connected with the Masters' and Employers' Association.

The union has thereby attempted to prevent the publication of a number of daily papers, while it has permitted its men to work in plants not connected with our association.

The association wished to keep the press neutral in the trouble in the book-printing plants, but the union would not respect the public's feelings. The association then considered it its duty to publish a newspaper to sup-

plant the daily papers, and we hope to give the public such in "Pressen."

"Pressen" will be a combined edition of—[Here follow the names of eleven capitalistic newspapers.] (Signed)

Masters' and Employers' Association.

To this the printers' union replied as follows:

In answer to the statements published by the Masters' and Employers' Association, that Dansk Typograf Forbund had forced upon the public the present state of affairs, be it known that this strike was ordered AFTER a lockout had been declared by the employers against part of our membership, following the employers' repudiation of the claim of the lithographers' union. (Signed)

Dansk Typograf Forbund.

This answer placed the blame squarely on the shoulders of the Employers' Association. This association had some time previous promised the lithographers the same hours of work as the typographical men had (eight hours a day), but broke its promise and brought about a strike. Scanting danger in the form of a sympathetic strike they ordered a lock-out of the union printers in the book-printing plants. Then all the printers struck by order of the union, which could not have part of the membership discriminated against.

The newspapers published were jokes resembling papers of fifty years ago. Fifty provincial papers were entirely stopped. Some appeared in single sheets of four columns, printed only on one side. The fact that the Socialist papers were published seemed to irritate the reactionaries more than anything else. One capitalist paper managed to print the following:

"The Socialistic newspapers do not suffer. The strike evidently is an attempt to block utterances from the employers. Only the Socialistic version of the conflict is published. We are all readers and publishers alike, brought into a serious conflict. Now when the Socialists demand municipal and governmental support for the unemployed, these same gentlemen start trouble in well-paid trades and try to prevent people, who do not read Socialistic sheets, from reading the news of the day. And it all came about over some unimportant differences, that are of no account compared to the present conflict. It is entirely nonsensical."

Yes, certainly! It was especially nonsensical to the capitalists because the workers had the situation well in hand. On the 14th of August only the first three named newspapers appeared. Two non-Socialistic provincial papers were also printed; but the Socialistic papers were the only real source of information and their sales increased immensely. The capitalistic newspapers had the news of the day painted on sign boards during the day and thrown on screens with magic lanterns by night.

In the restaurants, the people were exasperated. No papers! A few copies of Swedish papers arrived and were fought for. Some people in their despair ordered the telephone and city directories so as to have a little something to enjoy with their coffee.

Finally a compromise was arrived at. The lithographers had the nine hour day reduced to eight and one-half hours per day and, on January 1, 1910, a further reduction to eight hours will go into effect. In the book-printing, book-binding and paper-mill trades work commenced on August 18. Newspapers appeared in the afternoon of August 17.

"Does anybody think that the little handful of lithographers could have won their strike, without the sympathetic action of the typographical union? Just look at the strike of the lithographers here in this country three years ago. Was that strike over in eight days? Did they win? No! But they had the satisfaction of knowing that they throughout the strike recognized that fundamental principle of pure and simple trade unionism, which says that the interests of employer and employee are identical. The printers here did not quit work, as this would have been against the interests of the bosses, and only ten per cent. of the lithographing plants were forced to close.

It may not be thought that the Danes got what they should have gotten, but it should be considered that at the same time the American workers were trying to prevent cuts in wages or lengthening of the hours, and were never thinking of striking for better conditions, it being at a time when great unemployment prevailed both in

Denmark and here.

Would not the figures in the World Almanac look different if we had a true, class-conscious, industrial union with as large a membership as the A. F. of L.? Without doubt they would and we will get such an organization, never fear.

The most inspiring episode in the whole strike was the action of the Swedish and German printers. In a year of hard times, they declined to do work, which would have brought them extra pay, and chose possible loss of jobs and other inconveniences, in order to help fellow workingmen in another country.

Hail to Socialism, with its Internationalism, teaching the workingman of one country that a workingman, speaking another language and living under another emblem of oppression called "the flag," is nearer to him than the exploiting class of his own nationality. May the day soon come when sufficient numbers of workingmen will answer in the words of Comrade Kircher, spoken at the ratification meeting in Cooper Union last July: "When anybody asks me: 'What is your religion? What is your nationality?' I say: I AM A WORKING-MAN!"

THE INTERNATIONAL.

Marching Song of the French revolutionary proletariat.

Stand up! ye wretched ones who labor,
Stand up! ye galley-slaves of want.
Man's reason thunders from its crater,
'Tis 'thetruption naught can daunt.
Of the past let us cleanse the tables,
Mass enslaved, ding back the call,
Old Earth is changing her foundations,
We have been nothing, now be all.

Chorus—

'Tis the last call to battle,
Close the ranks, each in place,
The staunch old International
Shall be the human race;
(Repeat Chorus.)

There are no saviors e'er will help us,
Nor God, nor Caesar, nor Tribune,
'Tis ours, O workers, must the blows be,
'That shall win the common boon.
From the thief to wring his stolen booty,
From its pris'n to free the soul,
'Tis we ourselves must ply the bellows,
'Tis we must beat the anvil's roll.
(Chorus.)

The state is false, the law a mock'ry,
And exploitation bows us down;
The rich man flaunts without a duty,
And the poor man's rights are none.
Long enough have we in swaddlings languished,
Lo, Equality's new law:
'Away with rights that know no duties,
'Away with duties shorn of rights."
(Chorus.)

All hideous in their brutal lordship
Stand king of mill and mine and rail.
When have they e'er performed a service;
Or at work done aught but qualif?
In the coffers of these robber barons,
Blind the world's great wealth is thrown,
In summing them to restitution,
The people seeks but what's its own.
(Chorus.)

Toilers from shop and field united,
The Party we of all who work;
The earth belongs to those who labor,
Hence! the idler and the shirk!
Say, how many on our flesh have feasted!

But if all this vampire flight
Should vanish from the sky some morn-
ing,
The sun will still shine on as bright!
(Chorus.)

The kings, they smother us in gun-smoke,
Oh, peace between us, war to them!
The Strike! Apply it to the armies,
Fire in air, break ranks again!
And if still these cannibals and tyrants
Would of us make "heroes" curst,
Soon shall they learn that our own gen-
erals,
Will taste our rifle fire the first!
(Chorus.)

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SYDNEY LETTER.

(Continued from page 1.)

miners will be defeated. The I. W. W. is the only union.

The Australian Socialist movement is meeting with troublous times at present. Free speech is suppressed and intellectual meetings in Socialist halls on Sundays are prohibited. The temperance and religious freaks have flooded the State Legislature with their representatives, and tyrannical laws are the result. The closing of saloons and the abolition of sport only accentuate the misery of the workers, because of the only recreation accessible to them being filched from them by the capitalist class, who aid and abet the fanatics, thereby keeping the workers divided against the real issue, the abolition of capitalism, and the inauguration of the Socialist Republic.

"Wowers" is the local term applied to the hypocritical Bible bangers and teetotal cranks.

The ceaseless propaganda and energetic activity during the last few years of the S. L. P. and I. W. W. clubs, is beginning to take effect.

Australia has the most liberal franchise in the world. One adult, one vote. And yet, owing to prejudices, religious and racial, fostered by the master class, the wage slaves are hopelessly divided and constantly elect their enemies to still further exploit them.

Jack London, the "celebrated" author and "authority" on Socialism is in Sydney, but has given the Socialist Labor Party a wide berth. He is the petted darling of the local plutocrats. He contributes to, and is interviewed by the capitalist press; he has dined and dined with the brigades of capitalism, and fraternizes with them. "Perhaps" he is doing propaganda work for Socialism! "These be your gods, O, Israel!"

FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF S. P. MEN.

The "Boston Traveler," it seems, is well able to put the Socialist party straight on the true principles of Socialism. At least, that paper can tell the "opportunistic" gentlemen something as to what is NOT Socialism. Incidentally the "Traveler" also sizes up well the "gentlemen Socialists."

The following appears in the "Traveler" of February 15:

The Boston "Traveler" has consistently opposed the policy called Socialism, because it knows that vast numbers of people are being misled by plausible arguments which attempt to prove that almost every forward step of civilization is Socialistic in character, when, as a matter of fact, such communal acts as public works, roads, bridges, the post office, etc., are essentially Democratic, providing the approach to them is gradual and that human rights and individual liberties are guarded in their adoption, which they could not be under Socialism.

Socialists attempt impudently to appropriate as their own all that is good in Democracy, and even in Christianity, but in any given group of Socialists it is difficult to find any two in agreement as to what Socialism means and what it really stands for, a case in point being the recent Socialistic conference held in Boston, where parlor Socialists, college professors and amateur theorists, who have never done anything constructive for their kind, let escape a flood of high-sounding words which are susceptible of a variety of interpretations and mean nothing at best. The conference is one of the show window products of Socialism, and is held in the hope to get converts from those who have nothing to do and need something to occupy their minds. The real propaganda is being made among a different class, the wage workers, and vastly different arguments are being used.

ASSASSINATIONS AND SOCIALISM

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MINERS' WIDOWS

SUE FOR COMPENSATION FOR THEIR SLAUGHTERED HUSBANDS.

Declare Union Pacific Coal Company Practically Murdered Their Miners—Charges of Gross and Criminal Negligence in Operating Fatal Mines.

Cheyenne, Wyo., February 19.—Suits rightfully demanding damages aggregating nearly a quarter of a million dollars were filed in the district court against the Union Pacific Coal Company, by widows and other heirs of miners who were killed in the two explosions that destroyed mine No. 1, at Hanna, on March 28, 1908. Several of the suits are for \$35,000 each and others for \$20,000 each.

In almost every instance the petition avers that the body of the deceased has not been recovered. These cases involve six widows and twenty-six orphans. The petitioners allege in almost every instance that the defendant corporation was negligent and guilty of gross carelessness in operating mine No. 1, in that it worked the slope from the surface downward, instead of running the slope a certain distance and then working upward; that an insufficient number of fire bosses was employed; that the mine was not properly ventilated, and that the property was not only in a dangerous condition, but that the company had full knowledge of this fact; that the mine was not properly sprinkled to prevent explosions from dust; also that the mine had been on fire, and that one week prior to the explosion a force of men was sent into the mine periodically to fight the flames, and that fire brattices were torn down by order of the company, thus endangering the lives of the miners.

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Section San Francisco, Cal., S. L. P. Headquarters, Hungarian Socialist Federation, Lettonian Socialist Labor Federation, 883 McAllister street.

Los Angeles, Cal., Headquarters and public reading room at 317 East Seventh street. Public educational meetings Sunday evenings. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

fourth Thursday. German, Jewish and Wednesday and Sunday. Open every Hungarian educational meetings every Headquarters Section Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P., meets every alternate Sunday at 1360 Ontario avenue, at 3 P. M.

Headquarters Section Cincinnati, O., S. L. P., at 1414 Race street. General Committee meets every second and night.

Section Allentown, Pa., S. L. P., meets every first Saturday in the month at 8 p. m. Headquarters, 815 Hamilton street.

Section Providence, R. I., 51 Dyer st., room 8. Regular meetings second and fourth Tuesdays of each month.

New Jersey State Executive Committee, S. L. P.—John Hossack, Secretary, 22 Fulton ave., Jersey City; Fred Gerold, Financial Secretary, 102 Waverly st., Jersey City, N. J.

Chicago, Illinois.—The 14th Ward Branch, Socialist Labor Party, meets every 1st and 3rd Sunday, 2 p. m. sharp, at Friedmann's Hall, s.e. corner Grand and Western avenues. Workingmen and women cordially invited.

Section Seattle, S. L. P. headquarters, free reading room and lecture hall, No. 2000 Second avenue, P. O. address, Box 1040.

All communications intended for the Minnesota S. E. C. should be addressed to Otto Olson, 310 7th ave., So. Minneapolis, Minn.

Section St. Paul, Minn., S. L. P., holds a business meeting every second and fourth Sunday in the month at 10 a. m. at Federation Hall, cor. 3rd and Wabash streets.

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Eugene Sue wrote a romance which seems to have disappeared in a various fashion, called "Les Mysteres du Peuple." It is the story of a Gallic family through the ages, told in successive episodes, and so far as we have been able to read it, is fully as interesting as "The Wandering Jew" or "The Mysteries of Paris." The French edition is pretty hard to find, and only parts have been translated into English. We don't know the reason. One medieval episode, telling of the struggle of the communes for freedom is now translated by Mr. Daniel De Leon, under the title, "The Pilgrim's Shell" (New York Labor News Co.). We trust the success of his effort may be such as to lead him to translate the rest of the romance. It will be the first time the feat has been done in English.—N. Y. Sun.

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SIMPLE STUDIES in SOCIALISM

A BRIEF HISTORICAL AND EXPLANATORY OUTLINE.

By WM. H. CUSACK.
Chicago Ill.

(Continued.)

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

Since the dissolution of primitive tribal communism, society has consisted of classes. Chattel slavery was the beginning of class society, the slave being the property of the master. The worker under Feudalism was chained to the soil, and the soil was owned by the feudal lord. Under the present system, the worker in order to get access to the land and machinery must first consult the capitalist who owns these instruments of production. Thus we see that all systems of society since the inception of private property have consisted of classes.

This existence of classes, one class being ruled by another, brought into existence a class struggle; a struggle between oppressor and oppressed. Ancient history teems with records of the revolts of slaves against their masters, and the history of the Middle Ages tells a long story of class warfare.

The class struggle in present society is between capitalists and wage workers, whose class interests are diametrically opposed. On this head Daniel De Leon says:

"Between the working class and the capitalist class, there is an irrepressible conflict, a class struggle for life. No plib-tongued politician can vault over it; no capitalist professor or official statistician can figure it away, no capitalist carver can veil it, no labor fakir can straddle it, nor can any reform architect dig it over. It crops up in all manner of ways, as in strikes, etc. It is a struggle that will not down, and can be ended only by the total subjugation of working class, or the abolition of the capitalist class."

SURPLUS VALUE.

The fundamental principle of modern Socialism is the theory of surplus value. The workers are but paid subsistence wages, and the surplus product of their labor over and above this subsistence wage is appropriated by the capitalist. While the workers' labor power, applied to land, etc., produces all wealth, they are obliged to content themselves with the smallest share necessary to existence, and the capitalist class, with kings, lords and other social parasites, live luxuriously upon the surplus product of the workers. The worker receives but about one-fourth of his entire product, that is, he receives in wages about one-fourth of the value of his product, and the remainder is confiscated by the capitalist, who enjoys himself exceedingly while he works the workers.

To secure to the workers this surplus, implies a complete transformation of the system of production. It necessitates the collective ownership and management of machinery, mines, mills, factories, railroads, in short, all means of production. This can be accomplished only by a class-conscious political and industrial organization of the working class, drilled and disciplined. When the workers have assumed control over production and appropriate their whole product, the capitalist will be given the same option as any one else—go to work or starve.

SOCIALISM NO SPECULATIVE PHILOSOPHY.

Most people in opposing Socialism are prone to inquire as to all the details under Socialism. They talk so much about "under Socialism" that one would be constrained to believe that Socialism was an umbrella, or something similar. They overlook all of the vital points in the Socialist philosophy, and consume their time in trying to find out just what a Socialist Republic would be like in all details. The average Socialist does not care to speculate as to the nature, in details, of such a regime, for the reason that the theories advanced by one are usually taken as the general concepts of opinion.

In this connection Daniel De Leon well observes, "The moment the field of the known is abandoned, and one launches out into pictures of future forms, a wide field is opened for speculation. Differences of opinion start over that which is probable or not probable. That which is set forth by one individual, must be taken only as the personal opinion of that very same individual, and possible attacks must be directed against him as an only."

OBJECTIONS—INCENTIVE.

As of the stock objections to Socialism, is that such a state of society would result in a loss of all incentive. It is well to know what kind of incentive is now. No one is quite reasonable to assume that all incentive to graft, etc., would

necessarily be lacking under Socialism. The average man to-day merely does as little as possible for the largest returns, and most workmen wouldn't do a tap of work if they knew that they could hold their jobs. "Killing time" is a common thing in factories and workshops. Workmen realize that if they turn out a maximum product, they will work themselves out of a job that much sooner, and that they are not compensated for their hard work. They are stripped of all their surplus product, and are given just as much as it requires to keep them from starvation. They are just treated like a horse or mule—given enough to eat. They go to work to get the money to buy food to acquire the strength so that they can go to work again, and this process goes on endlessly. Under such conditions no one can blame a worker for "killing time" and getting as much as possible and giving as little as possible. It is perfectly consistent with the present graft system.

A "good" business man is one who can sell you a shoddy suit of clothes by lying and deceiving, by such methods as representing his wares as "all wool and a yard wide," and do all kinds of crooked work and avoid detection. The indispensable qualification of business is to have few scruples and be a first class liar. All the incentive under the present regime, generally speaking, is to "get the money and get it quick." The incentive to adulterate food is that of profit. The incentive to encourage people to become drunkards is that of profit.

Everything that is corrupt is caused by this profit-mongery. The incentive to do almost anything for profit is a result of the mercenary spirit which is part and parcel of the present system.

There would be plenty of encouragement for real incentive in a Socialist Republic. When a person receives full value for services rendered, it will arouse an incentive never before known.

"DESTROYING INDIVIDUALISM."

Another objection to Socialism is that "it would destroy individuality, and place everyone on a dead level." One would infer from this objection that the present system preserves one's individuality; but the system does nothing of the kind. To-day, we go into large industrial plants and see masses of men mere appendages to machines. They are known by numbers. One is number 13, another 23, and so on. They are herded together like so many wild animals, and worked to their fullest capacity for miserable wages. Here most of them remain, as it is impossible except for a few of them to get out of that slavish condition. Individuality to them is an absent quality. The present industrial system has destroyed the individuality of its wealth producers, yet those who benefit by present conditions have the effrontery to charge Socialism with their own crimes. Socialism will restore the individuality of the workers by recognizing them as men and not as slaves.

Dr. Westcott, Bishop of Durham, in speaking of the central idea of Socialism, has this to say:

"The goal of human endeavor is the common well being of all alike, sought through conditions which provide for the fullest culture of each man as opposed to the special development of a race or a class, by the sacrifice of others in slavery or serfdom, or necessary subjection."

As to the assertion that Socialism is incompatible with freedom, we might ask what freedom is there for the masses under the present system? Nothing can be more certain than that under capitalism the freedom of the masses is merely nominal. If freedom is attained at all, it is at the expense of security. It is a choice of working under prescribed conditions, which are usually unhealthy, degrading, and dangerous, or of starving. The freedom of contract is nothing but a humbug. The capitalist makes the conditions of contract, and specifies the amount of wages, and the worker is compelled to accept the terms or go hungry. In a word, the worker is about as free as a bird in a cage.

Socialism, by its inherent character, will bring about a human freedom never conceived of. This is inevitable, because it is a product of the evolutionary law. It is kindling the fires of human liberty, and is destined to emancipate the human race.

SOCIALISM AND HUMAN NATURE.

It is often argued that "Socialism is contrary to human nature." Those who hold this argument don't know what they mean when they harp on human

nature. This argument is merely an echo of the past. All idealistic society builders had human nature as their starting point in their dreams of social systems, and it is no wonder that they were all failures. Early Socialists were by this method confused in studying social phenomena. They thought that human nature was a fixed quantity, but this theory has been exploded. It is now known that human nature is variable, and subject to the laws of evolution just as much as anything else. It adapts itself, with marvellous plasticity to new conditions.

There is quite a difference in the human nature of the savage and the civilized man. They have very different ideas, desires, tastes, customs, etc. The human nature of the Athenians under Pericles was different from the human nature of the Australian aborigines. The European is a different person than the Chinaman, and there is quite a difference between the enterprising New Englander and the inert native of Bengal, or the member of a Russian commune with his fixed and conservative routine of life. Since, this is so, that human nature is variable, to prate about it shows a lack of historical knowledge.

Being a product of material conditions, human nature is subject to degradation or elevation, and there is not the least doubt that Socialism will inevitably emancipate it from the degrading influences of capitalism. The present system with its dog-eat-dog struggle for existence, corrupts human nature and produces what might be called hog nature. As Paul LaFargue says, (Social and Philosophical Studies) "The bourgeois social environment, based on individual property and mercantile production, erects into cardinal virtues the worst qualities of the human soul, egotism, hypocrisy, intrigue, profligacy and pilfering."

"CONFISCATION."

Some people object to Socialism on the ground that it will necessitate a confiscation of the means of production and distribution. This objection is not well founded. Socialism is no more confiscatory than was the American Revolution or the Civil War. It implies institution, and not confiscation. The working class has built the railroads, the mills, mines, and factories, and all the machinery of production and is return for this they have merely been fed etc. just like horses. The capitalist class has confiscated the whole surplus product of the workers and now that the workers are about to claim their own, we hear talk about "confiscation." Even if it were true that there would be "confiscation," what of it? The fact that Socialism will benefit the great majority of the people would justify such action. If under the private ownership of the means of life the great mass of the people suffer and degenerate at the bottom of the social scale, and a small class of vain parasites riot in luxury and idleness at the top, any means would be justified that would transform such a system into one of order and harmony. When the transformation is about to take place society will know what to do. To compensate the present owners of confiscated wealth is out of the question. Aside from its impracticability, it is as foolish as compensating burglars when their booty has been restored to its rightful owners. One might as well advocate the pensioning of horse thieves.

In speaking of the hereditary rights to titles, Prof. R. T. Ely (Outlines of Economics) has this to say: "Nothing can be more perilous than for the owners of hereditary rights to rest the justice of their claims upon its past origin. Few titles of king standing could be traced back very far without disclosing at some point violence or craft or fraud which the moral sense of the community would condemn."

In this connection Daniel De Leon, after showing how multimillionaire Levi P. Morton of New York started as a poor boy, and after failing in the clothing business, immediately after, STARTED A BANK, says, in reference to "original capital," or "original accumulation," and how it is usually acquired, "Read the biographies of the founders of capitalist concerns, and you will see that 'original accumulation' is the child of fraudulent failures and fires, of high-handed crime of some kind or other, or of the sneaking crime of appropriating trust funds, etc. With such 'original capital' gotten by dint of such 'cleverness,' 'push,' and 'industry'—as a weapon, the original capitalist proceeds to fleece the working class, that has been less 'industrious,' 'pushing,' and 'clever,' than he."

The working class must assume control over industry despite all the cries of "confiscation." The hereditary industrial tyranny of the capitalist class and their practice of exploiting the workers cannot long be acquiesced in. The "chieftains of industry" have long exhibited their incapacity of carrying on production without disaster. The workers—the great bulk of society—if they would save the race from social

shipwreck, must assert themselves and by virtue of their might proclaim the death-knell of capitalism and inaugurate the Socialist Industrial Republic, which means the emancipation of the human race.

The capitalist class, no matter how instrumental they have been in the organization of industry, have been, and are being well compensated by receiving the entire surplus product of labor. They have lived on the fat of the land while the workers have gone hungry. It is high time that the workers should enjoy the fruits of machine industry, and the benefits of civilization. This is practically impossible unless the means of life are socialized, which necessitates the abolition of the present system.

(To Be Continued.)

A RAILROADER'S OBSERVATIONS

Track inspection premiums to road masters and section foremen serve two purposes: They make the traveler think that the companies take extraordinary care of roadbeds, which is all bluff; and the hope of a prize urges road masters and section foremen to work their men to the limit, which is not a bluff.

Live stock roads found guilty of violating the 28-hour law pleaded that failure to take live stock from cars as required by law was due to negligence of employees and to accidents. In no industry is negligence more severely punished than in the railroad business. The courts took no stock in the plea, but fined the companies.

"Negligence of employees" is a standing refuge behind which the companies hide. The roads frame up elaborate rules for safety in operation, and then carry on the business in such way as to make obedience to rules impossible. Get through, rules or no rules, is the motto. The eternal vigilance of employees is depended upon to keep things from going to smash altogether.

The general manager of the Pullman Company says that the porters, who are paid \$25 a month, are paid as much as they could command elsewhere. He claims that tipping is not due to small pay, but to the selfish desire of some passengers to get better service than others. It is a well known fact, that the porter's wages are fixed low, because he is expected to increase his compensation with tips received.

The Pullman Company can't afford to reduce rates—the business is so risky. How risky? Well, the railroads might not renew their contracts with the Pullman Company. A road running its own sleeping car service between Chicago and St. Paul says that its sleepers average \$10,000 per car per annum. Maybe the roads are looking with longing eyes at the juicy plum that is enjoyed by the Pullman Company.

The "public" is clamoring for lower rates, freight and passenger. The companies are crying out against it, and declaring that the reduction would have to come out of wages. Wages are screwed down pretty low now, and I fear they couldn't get it all out of wages. But all this is a bluff to keep the "public" from knocking down profits. Funny, isn't it, that whenever a reduction is considered the first thought is to take it out of wages? Don't touch profits. Keep up the profits. A queer fraternalism this brotherhood of capital and labor.

Speaking of brotherhood—the C. R. I. & P. recently sent out a circular to employees, which states that "our grand old road is approaching her 55th birthday and is better and stronger than ever; and this is a fitting time for every one of us to resolve to make the coming year the best in her history." What was the effect of the circular? Employees threw out their chests as though they owned the whole blamed road.

Antipatriotism ..

Celebrated address of Gustave Nerve at the close of his trial for Anti-Militarist Activity, before the Jury of La Seine.

An excellent answer to Capitalist Jingoism and capital exploitation of the need of international unity of the working class.

Price 5 Cents.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.
25 City Hall Place,
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"The People" is the paper that you want. Straight and Truthful.

'IN OVER THE MOUTH'

How the Small Clothing Dealers Are Feeling in This Depression—The Hat Strike and Its Effect on Retaildom.

By Retail Clerk, New York.

Retaildom is affected just now by a malady which the capitalist mind does not seem to be able to diagnose. According to "Men's Wear," a retail expert in portraying the condition of the retail trade of the country made the following statement:

"There are three kinds of retail merchants. They are all standing in water. The first class are in up to their chin. They have to increase their advertising, and while they have cut it out of labor, yet their expenses are still away out of proportion to the volume of business they are doing, and yet they are able to breathe through mouth and nose.

"The second class are in over the mouth, breathing through the nose.

"The third class are practically 'busted,' inasmuch as they are engulfed, and yet, credit and money have been so cheap that, for various ulterior reasons, they are kept afloat, though 'broke.'"

The large stores are not affected by dullness in business. On the contrary, the most of them claim that the volume of business is larger this year and the closing months of the preceding year, than in the fall of 1907 and the early part of 1908. The general complaint in retaildom is to the effect that business is unprofitable. As a Socialist and a reader of S. L. P. literature and the Weekly People, I am not so easily taken in by that cry. I cannot see where the big bosses are living on a lower ratio. My own employers are living as luxuriously and are spending as little time in their business as they ever did, still they join the chorus of the majority—"Business is unprofitable!" What is it then that retaildom is suffering from?

I have previously called attention in "The People" to the slogan of the manufacturing interests, "From the manufacturer to the consumer." The middleman must be eliminated and the manufacturers are determined about it. The retailers, being forced to buy in a well-organized and trusted market, and to sell in a competitive market, are up against a problem which they cannot solve. Those of the type of my own employers, for instance, I mean those who are designated by the retail expert in "Men's Wear" as being in water up to their chin, are making their money by virtue of the fact that being in a position to buy immense quantities of merchandise they get their special discounts, which they contradictorily do not call profit. It is not so much the conditions that affect them immediately that the retailers of the first class complain of, but the tendency of the manufacturers to discontinue that discrimination between the fellow who is in water up to his chin and the fellow who is engulfed. Gradually and quietly most of the retail stores are passing over unperceived by the public into the hands of the large manufacturers and the Dry Good Trust, H. B. Clafin Co.

The hatters' strike is the topic of the day in retaildom. Despite the fact that the commercial magazines insist that the strike is broken and that the factories are running a good part of their regular time, there are no goods received in any of the stores. Some few large retailers claim that they will receive in the next few days large shipments of hats from England, but as to that I am not so sure. In my opinion, if the hatters were industrially organized they would stand more than a fair chance of winning their strike.

The pure and simple idea of unionism is to allow the cap makers, the straw hat makers, the stitched cloth hat makers and all the hat makers in England to seah it upon the workers employed in that particular branch of headgear that are now on strike. Where are the former great industrialists to bring this truth home to the unfortunate, misled members of our class?

The season for hats starts about the early part of March, and the new styles usually come in about the end of February. In fact "advanced" styles are shown as early as the first week in February. With no "advanced" styles in sight it is funny to see the window dressers ornament their windows with styles that are pretty much "advanced" in age. Business is business, and if the strike lasts much longer, then caps, stitched cloth hats, and maybe silk hats will become the latest styles.

The New York Labor News Company is the literary agency of the Socialist Labor Party. It prints nothing but sound Socialist literature.

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Protect yourself by registering your letter or sending money order.

PLATFORM

Adopted at the National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, July, 1904, and Re-adopted at the National Convention, July, 1908.

The Socialist Labor Party of America, in convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of man to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

We hold that the purpose of government is to secure to every citizen the enjoyment of this right; but taught by experience we hold furthermore that such right is illusory to the majority of the people, to wit, the working class, under the present system of economic inequality that is essentially destructive of THEIR life, THEIR liberty and THEIR happiness.

We hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be controlled by the whole people; but again taught by experience we hold furthermore that the true theory of economics is that the means of production must likewise be owned, operated and controlled by the people in common. Man cannot exercise his right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness without the ownership of the land on and the tool with which to work. Deprived of these, his life, his liberty and his fate fall into the hands of the class that owns those essentials for work and production.

We hold that the existing contradiction between the theory of democratic government and the fact of a despotic economic system—the private ownership of the natural and social opportunities—divides the people into two classes: the Capitalist Class and the Working Class; throws society into the convulsions of the Class Struggle; and perverts government to the exclusive benefit of the Capitalist Class.

Thus labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party raises the banner of revolt, and demands the unconditional surrender of the Capitalist Class.

The time is fast coming when in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises, on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalist combinations, on the other hand, will have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of America to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them.

And we also call upon all other intelligent citizens to place themselves squarely upon the ground of Working Class interests, and join us in this mighty and noble work of human emancipation, so that we may put summary end to the existing barbarous class conflict by placing the land and all the means of production, transportation and distribution into the hands of the people as a collective body, and substituting the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder—a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1893	2,068
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In 1896	30,542
In 1900	74,101
In 1904	34,173
In 1908	14,237

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their subscriptions are sent in.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1909.

Of all the various ways in which the
imagination has distorted truth, there
is none that has worked so much harm
as an exaggerated respect for past
ages. This reverence for antiquity is
repugnant to every maxim of reason,
and is merely the indulgence of a
poetic sentiment in favor of the remote
and unknown. It is this, for instance,
which inspired the poets with their notion
of a Golden Age. It is this, again,
which gave to theologians their idea
of the primitive virtue and simplicity
of man, and of his subsequent fall
from that high estate.

—BUCKLE.

A YONKERS CAPITALISTESS.

Mrs. E. S. Cochran of the Smith
Carpet Works in Yonkers bequeathed at her
death \$1,000 to each of the 250 employees
of her establishment who worked in the
place for twenty years or more.

Making a conservative guess—after
computing the wages received by these
250 operatives and the surplus value they
created—Mrs. Cochran pocketed from
each the sum of \$3,000 a year. Twenty
times this amount makes at least \$100,
000, plundered from each of these veter-
ans during the not less than twenty
years of their martyrdom. There being
250 of these incumbents, the net result is
\$25,000,000 plundered and \$250,000 re-
turned.

Looked at from this angle of vision
Mrs. E. S. Cochran is a financier of no
mean genius.

There is another angle of vision from
which to contemplate the occurrence.

The 250 veterans may well be believed
to be jubilant. Their horizon is not to be
suppressed, wide enough to take in the
facts which would lead to conclusions
that would dampen their gratitude. Their
gratitude is boundless. The increased
rapidity of their blood's circulation, al-
ways produced by agreeable emotions,
means a larger measure of health than
they would otherwise be now enjoying,
with twenty years' carpet factory dust
in their lungs. This, in turn, means a
number of other good things—all be-
stowed upon them by the death of Mrs.
E. S. Cochran.

Looked at from this angle of vision
Mrs. E. S. Cochran attests her liberal
kindship to Scotch grandes Cawdor. Like
him, nothing in her life became her like
the leaving it.

THE CASE OF KNOX.

Washington despatches state it as a
settled thing that Senator Philander C.
Knox is to be Taft's Secretary of State—
"all difficulties being removed."

The facts is what may be called the
"case of Knox" stand out plain.

The Constitution forbids a member of
Congress to fill, during the time for
which he is elected, any civil office under
the authority of the United States the
emoluments whereof have increased dur-
ing such time.

Philander C. Knox is a member of Con-
gress; the office of Secretary of State is
a civil office under the authority of the
United States; during Knox's incum-
bency the emoluments of the Secretary
of State have been raised; Knox's term
of office does not expire until March 4,
1911.

Applying the Constitutional clause to
Senator Knox, he, along with all the
Members of the Congress that increased
the emoluments of the Secretary of
State and whose terms do not run out on
or before next March 4, is disqualified
from serving as Secretary of State. One
and all the disqualifications recited in the
Constitution cover the Senator.

Now follows another sequence of
facts:

Senator Knox was appointed Secretary
of State by Taft, the appointment, to
take effect as soon after noon of next
March 4th as the Senate can convene and
take favorable action upon the appoint-
ment.

After President-elect Taft's choice was
made, the Constitutional clause was

thought of. It was found a bar to the
Senator's confirmation.

Upon the discovery a bill was intro-
duced in the Senate reducing the emolu-
ments of the Secretary of State back to
where they stood before. The bill was
passed by Congress. It is law to-day.

There is one more fact to be con-
sidered. The bill increasing the emolu-
ments of the Secretary of State increased
at the same time the emoluments of all
the other Cabinet officers. The present
reduced salary of the Secretary of State
places him, the head of the Cabinet, be-
low the rank of his colleagues in the
Cabinet, as far as salary goes. The dis-
crepancy is not to remain permanent
it is understood and expressly stated
that, immediately upon the expiration of
the term for which the Senator would
have served in the Senate, the salary of
the Secretary of State will be raised
back to where it stood before this late
reduction.

It is not likely, indeed, it is quite cer-
tain, that when Congress increased the
emoluments of the Secretary of State
the prospect of his filling the office so
soon did not cross the mind of Senator
Knox. It, consequently, is obvious that,
in this instance, there did not exist the
corrupt collusion that the Constitutional
clause is intended to protect against.
On the other hand, it is equally obvious
that the manoeuvre, by which the bar to
the Senator's appointment was removed,
removes at the same time the protection
against the Constitutional clause which
has been evaded.

The instant the letter of so wise a
clause as the one just evaded, is dis-
regarded because of the absence of actual
intent at corruption, actual intent may
later be easily argued away.

Nothing now stands in the way of any
of the numerous gigantic corporations,
which already overshadow the Govern-
ment, to "log roll" with some Senator
or Representatives. Any of these may
now be induced to legislate in obedience
to some Trust by the promise of speedy
reward with some civil appointment, the
emoluments to which he, in order to re-
ceive the reward, has all the faster plum,
will exert his legislative function in in-
creasing.

Knox's appointment by Taft is, in it-
self, a symptom of nothing. The man-
oeuvre of Congress, with the knowledge
and approval of the President-elect,
that is symptomatic of politico-social
ulceration. How far and deep the ulcer-
ation extends President-elect Taft's con-
fident assertion, that "an attack in the
Courts will not be entertained" by the
Judiciary, gives some inkling of.

LET THE LIGHT SPREAD.

A well-known woman once remarked
that she had repeated a certain childhood
story so often that she no longer knew
whether it applied to her or her younger
sister. That is the fix of the manufac-
turing interests of the country to-day.
So long have they rehearsed certain yarns
for the benefit of the working class that
they now no longer know whether those
yarns apply to the workers, or to them-
selves.

One of these yarns is that about the
"freedom" of labor. Labor is so delight-
fully unfettered. It can work or stop
work, change employers at will, if it isn't
satisfied with its wages it can seek bet-
ter, no one can compel it to do what it
doesn't want to, etc., etc., etc.

Now the Moving Pictures Patents Co.,
being a combination of all the leading
moving picture film manufacturers, has
begun to issue licenses to exhibitors.
These licenses, to be paid for at specified
rates, entitle the holder to purchase or
rent films from the combination. Of
course those who don't want to pay the
extra license fee in addition to the cost
of the films, are rebelling. And what
argument does the Moving Pictures Patents
Co. use to silence them? Why, the
same old yarn, in a new dress, of the
"freedom of labor."

"Licensed exhibitors," says the Moving
Picture World, "are not bound to the
company by their licenses, and may dis-
continue the licensed service at any time.
There can, then, be no question of the
signing away of one's 'freedom,' when
'freedom' is entirely a matter of personal
option."

Of course, no one is "bound" to the
company. Only, if one doesn't pay li-
cense tribute, he doesn't get the best
films, and that means lost business and
possible extinction.

Hence, though no agreement to that
effect exists, the exhibitor is by the
very law of his being, bound to the com-
pany. Just so it is with labor. Its
boasted freedom lies in that no statute
makes it a bondman. In truth, the law
of its propertyless being makes it the
most abject bondman of the centuries.
If signing a license agreement is a loss
of freedom, and done under virtual com-
pulsion by the moving picture showman,
how much more is not labor's begging
and acceptance of a job at insufficient
wages, a loss of freedom also?

It is not to be hoped that the moving
picture men will learn by their fix the
falseness of the claim of the "freedom
of labor"; their bourgeois instincts are
too thick a wall for that; but labor
should profit by the object lesson now

being projected on the screen for it.

Dark stars clashing in space, or capi-
talist blockheads of "comblines" and "in-
dependents" clashing on earth, it is all
one for Nature's purpose, and that is
LIGHT. Let the light spread.

ENLIGHTENING TWO CONTINENTS.

Elsewhere in this issue is published
an English translation of an exception-
al article concerning the Trades Union
(craft Union) Movement in America
that has been furnished to the Journal
of Metal Workers in Germany by a
special correspondent, now taking ob-
servations in this country.

The article in question is exceptional
in that it represents a "new departure"
—the effort on the part of the Ger-
man Unionists to ascertain American
facts for themselves, and, having as-
certained them, make them public.
What the reason for the "new depart-
ure" lies on the surface. The Ger-
man Unionists must have long felt
mystified concerning America. The re-
ports about the American Labor Move-
ment that hitherto have appeared in
German papers must have raised ex-
pectations concerning American affairs
that the issues regularly belied. There
was a paradox—glowing description
followed by inglorious net results.

It is to be hoped that the example
set by the Metal Workers' Union of
Germany may be followed by others.
At this point we venture a suggestion.

The author of the article which ap-
pears translated in this issue, writing
before this a humorous letter about
things American in general to an
imaginary friend in Germany, said:

"I hear you contemplate sending your
eldest son over here. Don't do that.
Send the younger. He is dull and
fresh (dumm und fresch). He would
soon rank among the 'prominent fig-
ures' in the German-American Move-
ment." Our suggestion is:—See to it
that the men whom the Unions send
over here from Germany to gather in-
formation do not belong to the category
of the "dumm und fresch"; let them
be men of clear and independent
minds. Then, like the present corres-
pondent of the German Metal Workers'
Journal, they will escape being stuffed
by the "prominent figures" in the Ger-
man-American Movement. Then a
flood of light will be thrown concern-
ing America upon the minds of our
comrades in Germany, to their own
benefit, and not a little to the help
of the Movement here, which has been
retarded by the business interests of
people in this country whose business
interests require them deliberately to
furnish false information abroad in
favor of the guilds, misnamed craft
Unions, of America.

FREE FORUM, OR HASH.

The "Machinists' Monthly Journal"
for February has an article entitled
"Catholicity, Socialism and Trade
Unionism" by John McKenzie, who
roundly denounces Socialism as a thing
abhorrent to the Christian ideal of the
Kingdom of Heaven, and who candidly
acknowledges his indebtedness, for the
allegations, which, without verifying,
he makes against Socialism, to Victor
Cathrein, S. J.

The identical issue of the identical
"Machinists' Monthly Journal" quotes
approvingly a passage from an address
of Pres. Charles W. Eliot of Harvard,
delivered to the Economic Club, who
said as follows:

"The enjoyment of life should not in
any way be connected with a position
of ease or, let me say, repose. What can
be more tiresome than the ordinary de-
scriptions in sacred literature of the
Kingdom of Heaven? The elements of
hard work seem to be lacking. My most
serious apprehension about Socialistic
prophecies is that they might conceiv-
ably result in something like even the
Christian heaven."

Artemus Ward, describing his condi-
tion after he had partaken for some
time of the hash dealt to him at the
table to which the white students were
relegated at Oberlin College, says that
his mind got into such a hazy state
that "pertate peelins and fish bones"
began to stick out all over his head.

Not much, if at all, better off will
people be whose monthly food consists
of such hash as is administered by the
cook of the "Machinists' Monthly Jour-
nal."

A free forum is all right. But one
thing is free forum, another thing is
hash. Forum freedom does not mean
indulgences in all sorts of wild state-
ments, so wild that, the allegations of
alleged fact from which they are sup-
posed to be conclusions being absent,
there is no way for the reader to do his
own thinking, and his brains becoming
useless, as Kenzie-Cathreinian and
Pres. Eliotian pertate peelins and fish
bones collide in his skull and erupt
through his scalp.

"LONG AGREEMENTS."

President W. H. Truesdale of the
Lackawanna Railroad expresses himself

emphatically against "short agreements"
with the anthracite miners. President
Truesdale could not express himself too
emphatically upon this head.

The purpose of the "agreement" is
manifest. One of its purposes, however,
is paramount. That purpose partakes
of the nature of an injunction against the
Union's joining other Unions, during the
period of the "agreement," in the latter's
struggles with their employer. If the
"agreement" is for one year, then the
"agreeing" Union can not join its fellow
workers during that period. If the
"agreement" is for five years, then the
"agreeing" Union has its class-conscious
spirit corked and sealed up four years
longer. Obviously, the longer the "agree-
ment" all the longer is the period when
the employer can feel sure that he has
that and other Union's heads in chan-
cery. The shorter the "agreement," all
the shorter is that to the employer
bleisful period.

"Agreements" between employer and
employers are unilateral bonds. They
bind the Union to "agree" to scab it
upon its fellow workers; they bind the
Union to "agree" not to be a Union for
the period of the "agreement." No em-
ployer, surely not a railroad and mining
magnate but holds stock in a large num-
ber of other industries. Long "agree-
ments" with all these several Unions
means a long breathing spell for the
employer all along the line of his ex-
ploitation.

"Agreements" are "contracts." The
only agreement a bona fide Union can
enter into with an employer is an agree-
ment for the shortest time possible—
from day to day. Under such an agree-
ment the Union preserves its character
and integrity—hence such an "agree-
ment" is utterly distasteful to the
Truesdale class.

There is not any opponent to Soc-
ialism but exposes his blindness in
some way. Lord Avebury, in the "An-
ti-Socialist," the latest British maga-
zine to combat Socialism, has the
following to say: "At present work-
ingmen are free. They can choose em-
ployer and employment." What a
mockery! Us seems that AT PRESENT
workingmen can't even sell themselves
from the auction block. And wasn't it
only recently that thousands of work-
ingmen in London joined in parade de-
manding work?

THE WHOLE HOG.

The Only Logical Demand the Working
man Can or Should Make.

The Whole Hog!

That is the only logical demand.

That does not mean that Labor while
it is fighting for the whole of what it
produces should not take everything it
can conquer.

It means that the working class as a
whole can get no permanent improve-
ment in its material condition while
wa: slavery lasts.

Again The People asks why should
the workers of the world kill each other?

Labor all the world over is one nation,
and the workers should be friends and
brothers.

That a European carnage has not oc-
curred ere this, the Socialists there are
to be thanked.

War on the industrial field kills more
than on the tented field of gore. The
class war between the capitalist class
and the working class always goes on.

A Frenchman is credited with saying:
A few people are put in insane asylums
to make the rest believe that all outside
are sane.

The insane are cared for and live in
healthy and beautiful surroundings; the
sane vegetate in vile slums, breathe foul
air, wallow in poverty, and live in fear
and trembling. Compare the surround-
ings of Gladesville Insane Asylum with
the ugliness and filth of Chippendale,
Waterloo and Alexandria—where the
"sane" workers are stabled.

Sane people starve when too much is
produced, and make a black hell of what
ought to be a bright earthly paradise.
It would seem that men have indeed lost
their reason and become brutish beasts.

Socialism is the only salvation of the
world.

Nothing short of the complete aboli-
tion of capitalism will suffice to create a
sane society, and transform this earth
into a beautiful civilized place where
all may live in economic peace and social
harmony.

The logic of capitalism is merciless;
likewise the logic of Socialism, for it
says: Nothing short of the abolition of
capitalism can end the crucifixion of
labor.—Sydney, Australia, "People."

THE METAL WORKERS' ORGANIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Under the above title the "Metal
Workers' Journal" of Stuttgart, Ger-
many, the organ of the Metal Workers'
Union of Germany, an organization 350,
000 members strong, published recently
an article from its American correspond-
ent who signs himself, "Chagrin." The
article, in which, the correspondent re-
lates his experiences in the Metal Work-
ers' Union of the United States, although
full of humor and witty sallies, gives a
true presentation of facts, which it is
well that the working class of America
take to heart, and which it is high time
that our comrades of Germany be in-
formed upon. Below is the article:

"I shall begin by describing the process
of admission to membership in the
"guild," called Union. By doing so I
shall afford an introductory glance into
the Trades Union movement of America.
Then one will be better able to make
comparisons between the movement of
"deceitful" and autocratic Germany and
of the "most enlightened and freest
country on God's earth"—America.

After much questioning and nightly
walks in the entire steel works, I finally
discovered a Union man. After divers
"ifs" and "buts" he declared himself
willing to propose me as a member to
the assemblage of "Union men."

The eventful moment was now to ar-
rive. A number of weeks previous he
had already pocketed the admission
blank, covered with many "weighty"
questions, and my answers thereto, to-
gether with the usual one dollar deposit.
The long weeks of dilly-dallying seem
to prove that I wasn't entirely unworthy
to become a member of the "best Union
on God's earth."

So we went then to the meeting hall.
A glance around was enough to convey
the conviction that this was no place for
every Tom, Dick and Harry. It wasn't
hard to discern that, from the "internal
fixtures." In the back ground, under
artistic, patriotic decoration in prose,
rose the presiding officer's dais. In the
middle stood the desk, which bore a
close resemblance to a baptismal-stone
in the Zwilling church. To the right and
left, high-backed chairs, behind a sort
of a contribution box. Then, right at the
entrance, there was another desk for the
vice-logdmaster. At a respectful dis-
tance from the well-ordered seats were
spittoons: one for every two seats.

Judging by their size they would do
service for a sea-sick crocodile. The
President had two at his disposal. How
necessary these spittoons were, one could
see later. After every period in the Pres-
ident's speech, from between the rows
of his teeth there would issue a long
brown spray which, applanse-like, would
fall to the side of the spittoon. As a
matter of fact all spittoons were indis-
tinctly used. If they were not exactly
receptacles for the juice, sent forth in
wide curves, at least they helped the
aim. In most instances the stream
found rest at the spittoon's side. Mas-
ters, in this "dainty art," there proved
to be very few. That also must be
learned.

The preliminaries of the meeting
brought a Union officer to his feet. He
examined the cards with phlegmatic
painsfulness. All those without clear
cards had to leave the room. The same
happened to us applicants. On the stairs
ten of us stood awaiting the good things
to come.

The arriving members were "wel-
comed" through a three-inch peephole
upon giving three knocks. They then
showed their books through the opening,
where it was received by an unseen hand.
After a considerable time they were ad-
mitted to the "Temple" of the lodge.
But not all; many waited long and in
vain before the peephole, and tired out
at last, went away cursing. These were
not "in good standing," that is, they
were more than eight weeks in arrears
for dues.

Undoubtedly the examination was car-
ried out very strictly. Even those who
left the meeting had to undergo the same
examination.

Finally, after two hours' waiting, a
Union officer called up the applicants,
and interrogated them with magisterial
dignity and painful detail, regarding pos-
sible former membership, possible par-
ticipation in strikes and their skill in
the trade, as well as upon the length of
their activity therein, etc. After this
examination and painfully detailed entry
of record, he demanded the rest of the
admission fee,—four dollars. (One dol-
lar is paid by applicant in advance.)

"Of course I can join without admis-
sion fee, seeing I have long been organ-
ized," I remarked to the officer. "In
what Union?" inquired he. "The German
Metal Workers' Union." "Oh, them is
small societies which don't count here!"
"Excuse me, my Union has 350,000
members!" "Wh-a-a-t! 350,000 mem-
bers! Totally unknown! Either you
are making a bluff, or we are as ignorant

as a ——" "The latter comes pretty
close to the truth" was my answer.
Shaking his head he went away with my
"greens."

Shortly afterwards a few more came
out of the hall and took a "detailed
view" of the applicants. It was especial-
ly one of the "newlings" who had foc-
ussed their interest and the officer put
him through a "special hearing." As I
found out at the close of that eventful
evening, he had shown, eleven years ago,
in Illinois, a great deficiency in technical
terminology, not knowing the name of
the instrument for measurements, when
he asked a Union man for it. Such sins
have long legs; they are marked with
heavy chalk at the tribunal of American
Unions.

Everything has an end. So has also
the waiting for admission into the "Tem-
ple" of an American Trades Union.
Three officers, the conductors, appeared;
they called each candidate by name and
assorted them nicely, according to size.
After these seemingly interminable re-
quirements were gone through one con-
ductor placed himself at the head, one
at the tail end, of the procession, and the
third took his place on the left side.

Arranged in this order, we were now
marched into the "Temple" of the lodge,
with slow steps, befitting the dignity of
the occasion. Especially, the "conductor"
at our left seemed to be conscious of the
solemnity and propriety of the occasion.
Each step, each motion, each facial ex-
pression was that of a ceremonial Pol-
iciniello. In front of the Presidential
chair the candidates, ten men strong, we
were formed into a mathematically ac-
curate semicircle, by the "conductor." Then
one of the conductors stepped for-
ward and with solemn voice addressed
the chair:

"Mister Chairman, I herewith present
these gentlemen"—he recited our names
—"as worthy candidates for our lodge." The
chairman responded: "Gentlemen,
are you willing to become members of
this lodge?"—In chorus: "Yes." The
chairman: "I now request you to raise
your right hands and swear—"

Three redoubtable raps with the ham-
mer brought the whole assemblage on
their feet. After the chairman had as-
sured himself that everyone stood in the
posture required by the ritual, he then,
turning to the candidates, continued in a
solemn voice, modulated in pastoral ac-
cent: "Repeat the oath after me:

"I solemnly promise before the as-
sembled members of this lodge, that I
will betray none of the brothers, nor
cause them to be betrayed;

"That I never will propose anyone for
membership but such as are sober, in-
dustrious and of white color;

"That I never will do any harm to a
brother or allow that harm be done to
him;

"That, as far as possible, I will call
his attention to impending dangers;

"That I will work against piece work
and the tending of two or more ma-
chines."

The oath is long. By and by, during
the process of repeating, not only the
vocal cords, but the muscles of the up-
lifted arm give out. In spite of all ritual
laws, the oath, most unceremoniously,
follows the laws of gravitation. Even
the, at first, highly solemn tone gets lost
in an undefinable murmur. Me seemed I
was transplanted 15 years back, and
stood on some peasant dancing platform
of Upper Austria, whither the "profes-
sional activity" of traveling young jour-
neymanhood occasionally took us, and
where in unison with the peasant women,
we mumbled evening prayers, when the
church bell tolled for vespers.

After the oath, followed the reading
of the by-laws and ritual regulations.
Thereupon we were made acquainted
with the benefits to be derived from the
organization, and then our "backs were
combed" some more by the reading of the
list of penalties. To our solace, however,
we learned that no member could be
fined more than fifty dollars. That's
only 210 marks. Further we were taught
that by "attending the meetings and
studying the laws and by-laws you will
learn to know our ceremonies and secret
work." For immediate and absolutely
necessary use, the following was to be
taken for guidance: "Arrival at the
door of the meeting room is to be an-
nounced with three knocks; the mem-
bership book is to be passed through the
peephole, so that the sergeant-at-arms
may inspect it." The President is to be
saluted in front of the desk, (the bap-
tismal stone) in the middle of the hall,
with the following motion—the motion
of salutation is taught practically; the
same when going out. Sitting down or
leaving must not occur before the chair-
man has answered the salutation. (The
salutation motions will delight mostly
Catholic journeymen. The motions bear
a devilish resemblance to the crossing

(Continued on Page 6.)



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN

BROTHER JONATHAN—I have
joined the "Tax Reformers' League of
Tax Payers."

UNCLE SAM—What on earth have
you, a workingman, got to do with tax
reforms and tax payers! ?

B. J.—Am I not a tax payer?

U. S.—Not that I know of.

B. J.—Is not Labor the sole producer
of all wealth?

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—Are not taxes wealth?

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—Why, then it follows that I, as
a member of Labor, pay the taxes, and
that lower taxes will make me better
off.

U. S.—Oh! Did you read the ac-
count of our employers' ball last week,
how my employer's wife had a diamond
necklace worth \$50,000?

B. J.—Yes, and my employer's wife
had on a Brussels lace bodice worth
\$6,500.

P. S.—Are that diamond necklace and
that Brussels lace bodice wealth or not?

CORRESPONDENCE

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

SEES CLEAR THROUGH THE S. P.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—For the first time in an uninteresting life of a wage slave, I feel that I am not the victim of political job hunters. "Vote, vote," without an industrial organization to back up the vote is nothing more than the child's prattle in the nursery. The best answer you can get from S. P. log-rollers for backing up a political victory is force and legislation. Force means a repetition of the Paris Commune, unless it is an intelligent organized force. But this impossible in a political organization that recognizes the craft method of organizing unions, or in other words, workers fight workers.

I am unable to understand how veterans in the S. P. can preach "Workers of the world unite," and then adopt an anti-immigration plank. Besides, to applaud the tactics of the A. F. of L. legislation is the limit of stupidity. Look to Colorado: Forty thousand voters expressed their desire for an eight-hour day; did they get it? Yes, in the neck. And that is just where the S. P. will get it in case of a victory, unless it improves its methods.

Comrades, I had an awakening. The mystery of 1908 began to grow upon my nerves. Bryan, with Compers as vote-catcher, failed, and the million votes conceded by the Republican press for the S. P. had me floating in a hazy mist of delight. But the morning after election! Why, it was awful! I began to realize that large audiences, news reports, magazine articles and oratory had not and could not line the workers up for the final battle. It was about this time that I remembered a pamphlet, "The Preamble of the J. W. W.," which had been handed to me at the Chicago convention. I had given it a hasty reading and wondered at that time why the party did not recognize so progressive a movement. As a matter of fact, the so-called party press entirely ignored its existence. This conspiracy of silence came home to me in my muddled state of mind in which the disappointing vote had cast me. But instead of making excuses for the vote I dug up my preamble, studied it, wrote to Trautmann, received literature and a bundle of protest blanks pertaining to Preston and Smith. These fired me, body and soul. I began to realize that I was some one's plaything. Two comrades languishing in a Nevada prison, and not a Socialist paper of the Socialist party publishing one word of the matter. "Can you, comrades, blame me for quitting and not supporting such an organization?"

I am a wage worker in this industrial hell. I want but one brand of Socialism and that must be outpoken antagonism to the class which holds me in bondage. Why can't we come together as workers upon a common ground, banded together with the ties of comradeship to fight the class that is riding us to perdition? I do not find any pleasure in denouncing anything, but I recognize the dire necessity of so doing. We denounce the capitalist in order to show their faults and the faults of the system: the same rule works with regard to party organizations. What do I care if the Catholic master is worse than the Protestant master, or vice versa. I want to see both abolished. It is no worse to be exploited by a Capitalist than it is by a Socialist. The "Socialist" press wrings dollars from the comrades, the comrades boost the church, and the private press sells advertising space. These crooked advertisers must get business or they withdraw their ad., and therefore the reader becomes the victim.

Now the privately-owned and controlled press of the S. P. may think it can deny this and justify such methods of running a "working class" paper. It may howl its head off at the "sore head," but I think I can give that press an interesting account of what this advertising means to the workers. We are told in a New York daily paper how the New York traction company manipulates its business and how Trinity Church gets its dividends; the millionaires Socialists fight out a personal scrap in its columns, and the editor plays the peace maker by saying that both are wrong in some respect, and then all three shake hands, bury the hatchet and clear the way for the next lining. And what do the readers gain by such exhibitions. I read the whole silly squabble, and finally concluded that not one of them knew what he was talking about. Is this the kind of an education

that will free labor from industrial bondage? What is wanted is an intelligent press, no clash in tactics, all teaching the same clear cut methods and tactics the Socialism that rings true and a press that keeps one posted on the important happenings and their import and effect upon present and future of the working class. This is the press that makes a working class revolution possible.

Comrades, it is time that you were investigating the two parties. One of the organizations must be wrong. If they were both right I would not give much for the intelligence of the workers that would stay divided upon the question of name. No, it is not the name, but the methods that divide the two movements. The Socialist Labor Party accuses the Socialist party of being undemocratic, reactionary and Socialist in name only. And you are doing yourselves and fellow workers an injustice if you fail to investigate these charges. Investigation proved to me that capitalism was wrong, and also that the Socialist party was wrong. It is the Socialist party continual cry for "votes" that breeds the Christian Socialists. Often I have been cautioned not to antagonize this man or that man. Such tactics are not in accord with the principle of Socialism, and are the direct fruit of a vote-catching practice.

An S. P. man does not like craft unionism, but will not say so to the craft unionist: he wants him to vote the Socialist ticket. Isn't this true, my Socialist party friends? You muzzle yourselves and swallow the gag. And the S. P. press applauds you for it. But say one word against craft unionism and you are termed a "union smasher." How soon you lose the respect of the press. Why! Because the press, being privately owned, needs circulation to get ads.

The press of the Socialist Labor Party does not cater to a bunch of rich advertisers, because the party as a whole does in reality own its press. And its papers are circulated for their educational value. It is not muzzled. It dares and does express its honest opinion, no matter upon whose toes it treads. And you my comrades are taught to howl "De Leonism" the moment an S. P. man is criticized. Get out of that rut or the chariot wheels of progress will crush you. You are in the quagmire now up to your neck and fast sinking in the swamp of votes that you do not get. And worse still, if you did get the full count which meant victory upon the political field, your defeat would be something awful to contemplate. Don't point to me and cry, "Don't cross the bridge until you come to it," and don't suggest "one thing at a time." I refuse to swallow your "one thing at a time" phrase. This is a day and age when things are done in pairs. Blind movements are worse than no movements at all. Your estimate of my ability as a house mover would sink to zero if I should attempt to move your house across the river and have no idea how I would cross the bridge when I got to it. But if I prepared and looked forward, knowing what was before me and planned to successfully accomplish the feat your estimation of my ability would be unbowed; all the confusion and result that would otherwise follow would now be missing. That is what I call sensible action. Prepare before for what is sure to follow. The political Socialist who says "one thing at a time" really believes that time will suggest means and methods of ushering in the Industrial Republic. I feel more safe in being prepared. We do not know what will confront the movement. But as capitalism advances to its doom, the workers must intelligently advance to grasp the reins when the day comes.

The press will be the greatest factor in shaping the work of the workers; if that press be a unit both in meant and methods. Turn to the pages of the S. P. press and you will look in vain for articles with the educational value that make for intelligent progress. You will look in vain for articles, such as "Russia's Latest Message" and "The Slum Element in a Revolutionary Movement," as are contained in the S. L. P. press. It is one thing to be a Socialist, and another to be a clear cut Socialist. I do not claim this clearness for myself; I have been bound up with "political action only" so long that I had almost stagnated into a physical forest and bomb-thrower, and I want to thank the Weekly People for putting my feet firmly upon the ground.

E. J. Thompson.
Terre Haute, Ind., February 10.

AS TO PARTY OWNERSHIP OF ITS PRESS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I was disgusted to read this morning in the Daily People the slur against our Comrade Robert Hunter because he holds much stock in the "Call." What is the difference between Comrade Hunter and Comrade Daniel De Leon? It is well known that the Daily People owes De Leon \$10,000. Why this mud-slinging against Comrade Hunter? I think it very wrong to say that Comrade Hunter may walk away with the "Call." I don't think Comrade De Leon will either walk away with the Daily People on account of its owing him money. I am sorry to see so much mud-slinging in the movement. I hope you will publish this protest although I am a Socialist party man.

A LETTISH S. P. MAN.
New York, February 17.

[Our correspondent furnishes the lamentable spectacle of what a man comes to who allows himself to be turned into sausage guts to be stuffed full of false information, and full of the false reasoning that the manufacturers of false information need to thrive upon.

For one thing, the Daily People does not owe De Leon \$10,000. It does not owe him half that amount. It does not owe him one-quarter the amount. The huge figure of \$10,000 was essential to help our correspondent's senseless conclusions along.

For another thing, our correspondent is badly mixed concerning "ownership" and "creditorship," together with the powers that "ownership" and "creditorship" respectively impart. John, who owns a house, may owe Dick \$1,000. That makes Dick his creditor, not the owner of his house. If Dick demands payment he can only demand the \$1,000; he can not demand the house. Should Dick sue and obtain judgment, John will know how to raise the funds. He remains owner of his house. Creditorship does not invest Dick with ownership over John's house.

De Leon, being a human being, consequently, liable to the human weaknesses that the Socialist Labor Party wisely guards against when it insists upon its own ownership of its press, he may become a rascal, or go crazy, which, in this matter, amounts to the same thing, and turn upon the Party, and demand or even sue the Party for the money owed to him—as more than one other, formerly supposed S. L. P. man, has done. That is all the harm he could do—and the others did. He, like them, being only vested with the rights of a "creditor," and not with the rights of "ownership," these latter being vested in the Party itself, all he could do would be to insist upon payment, and the Party would, in his instance, as in all other previous and future ones, know how to raise the money to pay the judgment creditor. He would get away with his money—not with the paper—just the same as any other of many creditors of the Party press would fare.

In short, De Leon may fly the coop and turn anti-S. L. P. He can not fly away with the S. L. P. press. He does not own it. The private owners of the S. P. press, however, may fly the S. P. coop, and being the owners of the S. P. press, will whisk it along with them without further ado—to the great astonishment of all such innocent stuffies as our correspondent, who were made to believe they owned "their press" because they were bled for it, and because they had the right to lay down the law to these private owners so long as these chose to remain members of their party.—ED. THE PEOPLE.]

AN ANSWER TO ELIZABETH NESBITT.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In the correspondence column of the Daily People, February 12, appeared a letter from Miss Elizabeth Nesbitt of Seagov, Canada, in which reference was made to an article written by me and published in the Daily People. As Miss Nesbitt has got a wrong view of my position toward Christian Socialists, I respectfully ask space for the following answer.

The part of my article, to which Miss Nesbitt refers, reads as follows: "The foolish attempt of mixing Socialism with religion (Christian Socialist Fellowship) shows the lack of conception prevalent among the S. P. leaders, of the best propaganda for Socialism."

Miss Nesbitt comments in these words: "But you are too hard on us who are Christians. I know you don't believe any of us are revolutionary or even sincere in our protests against existing conditions, and most likely my little word will not make you change your opinion."

It is now my turn to say: "Don't be too hard on us who are opposed to the Christian Socialist Fellowship." While I have no authority to speak for Daniel De Leon, I still believe I am justified in saying that neither he nor I hold the views attributed to us by Miss Nesbitt. The religious belief of a Socialist does not concern me nor the

party, and I have as little objection to the Christians in the Socialist Movement forming a Fellowship, as I have to the Scandinavian, the German or the Jewish organizations in the movement. But at one point I draw the line. When the Christian Socialist Fellowship, in speeches and lectures, try to prove that Socialism is only Christianity applied, then it is a foolish attempt at mixing Socialism with religion.

Just imagine what would happen if those who are not Christians would follow this example. The Jews would try to make Socialism Judaism applied; we would have Mohammedan Socialism, Buddhist Socialism, etc., etc., fifty-seven varieties of Socialism. A newcomer would find all these varieties waiting for him saying: "Come, join us; apply our principles and you will have Socialism."

This is what I object to. To me there is only one Socialism, and religion should not interfere with that, any more than Socialism interferes with religion.

Would Christ's teachings applied to our capitalist state change it into the Socialist Republic? I don't think so. To my mind Christ was a reformer and more of an Individualist than a Socialist. He said: "Take half of what you own and give to the poor"; "Give to the Emperor what belongs to him and to God what belongs to God"; "If a man steals your coat give him your cloak also"; "The poor you shall always have with you."

If a man, pretending to be a Socialist spoke like that to-day he would be laughed at. Those are sentiments of a reformer.

In Bebel's excellent work, "Woman Under Socialism," one chapter describes the attitude of Christianity toward woman. A close reader of the Gospels will soon discover that marriage is considered a sin, though a pardonable one.

Read St. Paul's letter containing his rules for widows and virgins and see if you as a woman would like to see such Christianity applied.

Once more, I repeat, I object to any body of men who try to prove that their special creed applied to modern conditions would bring Socialism. Such action is unrevolutionary, it indirectly denies the class struggle and will confuse and keep away the newcomers who have enough to do with learning the true Socialist principles, without being bothered with different Fellowships trying to offer them something "just as good."

But to all Christians, Hebrews, Japanese, Hindoos, Negroes, Spiritualists, Materialists, Agnostics and Atheists who turn to Socialism as a remedy for our intolerable wage slavery I say "Welcome, comrade."

And you, sisters, join us. We need your co-operation, and you have also a world to gain.

Axel Staal.
Jersey City Heights, N. J., Feb. 12.

AN ANSWER TO "INDEPENDENT INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 6."

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Please find enclosed letter from Cincinnati to W. Pickering, with answer to same. It was considered that, on account of the pernicious nature of the fact that it appears to be one which is being distributed all over the country, we request the publication of the answer.

F. Martin.
Toronto, February 16.

(Enclosure)
43 Salem avenue,
Toronto, Feb. 16, 1909.

Chas. H. Schmidt, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Comrade and Fellow Worker:—Your letter to W. Pickering having been read by him, at the regular business meeting of Local 198, I. W. W., I was instructed to reply to the same.

You say that former recruiting Local No. 6, I. W. W., of Cincinnati, refuses to delegate its power to any General Executive Board, because you believe that the power of the workers should remain in their own hands, and if they delegate that power to a G. E. B. it (the G. E. B.) will usurp their power and eliminate the organization. If you will think for a moment you will notice that such language is exactly that of a certain breed of Anarchists. The Anarchist does not believe in organization, because organization implies government, or central directing authority. But you go the Anarchist one better. You desire organization and yet refuse to countenance the thing which inevitably flows from organization, namely: A Central Directing Authority.

There are two kinds of government possible under certain conditions. First, Direct government, which is only possible when all the governed can meet and act for themselves. Second, Indirect, or representative government, which becomes absolutely necessary, when the members are too many in numbers or too widely scattered to meet and act directly for themselves.

To be consistent with your theory, you could not send a delegate to a conven-

tion, because immediately you do so, you are delegating your power to some one, and that some one, according to your theory, will usurp his power and demoralize your organization by acting contrary to your wishes.

It is correct to say that the emancipation of the working class must be the work of that class, and that all power must remain in their hands. But we in Toronto cannot see how, having a G. E. B., takes the power out of their hands, any more than when a bunch of capitalist politicians are placed in Congress. It, therefore, takes the power out of the hands of the capitalist class.

Did the Shermans and Mahoneys, etc., take the power of the workers away from the workers? Did the Trautmann—St. John—Walsh bunch steal that power? Admittedly they did for a time. But where is the power of the workers now? Exactly where it belongs, right in the hands of the working class itself.

No bunch of fakirs on earth can take and keep the power of the workers permanently. It can, and may be done for a while. But that is only because of the uneducated conditions of the workers themselves. Therefore, the real fault the only fault, lies, not in the electing of a G. E. B., but in the mental state of those who do the electing.

You may abolish the G. E. B., but that will not make the workers any wiser, and it is plain that as long as the workers will put up with a crooked G. E. B., that in itself proves that they are not as yet capable of directing their own organization by direct government, even if it were possible to do so, which it is not, as I have shown.

As to the latter part of your letter. It is hard to believe you were serious when you wrote it. I mean where you suggest a Secretary-Treasurer, who is to be paid \$75 per month for taking charge of a general headquarters as manager with no power. Whoever heard of a manager with no power? Immediately you say manager, you say power to manage; power to manage means power to spend money, at least for stationery and stamps. Or is he to take it out his \$75 stipend, or take a referendum vote, when he wants a two-cent stamp?

You may say all this is absurd. But it is not more so than the fact that by the suggestion of a Secretary-Treasurer at \$75 per month you have overthrown your whole argument against a G. E. B. The Secretary-Treasurer becomes the central directing authority. He becomes the connecting link between the local industrial unions and the organization as a whole must govern itself through him. Now, acting in that capacity, he will have a certain amount of power, whether you like it or not. Furthermore, experience has shown that a one man power is vastly more dangerous than that of a dozen or more. The one man has no one to check him, whereas if there are a number of men, the chances are one will check the other.

In conclusion, I will say that we believe that the working class must build up the framework of the new society within the old. That cannot be done by a lot of disconnected local unions scattered all over the country. We must have an organization of workers in one union. That implies a central directing authority, the power of the workers to be delegated to a G. E. B., even as it will have to be under a Co-operative Commonwealth. The abuse of that power by the G. E. B. will only cease when the workers are sufficiently educated to stop that abuse. Each time the power of the workers is abused by their officers, there results an experience. Education flows from that experience, and the struggle of the workers to learn how to control themselves draws nearer and nearer to an end. Neither you nor anyone else can hurry the education of the working class, and certainly cutting off the G. E. B. will not help matters. In fact it will act the other way.

We have in these days to counteract and fight many influences. One of these is the Anarchist idea of no government, or authority, delegated or otherwise. Social science has proven that to be a fallacious doctrine and entirely inconsistent with the conditions resulting from the development of the tools of production, which conditions compel co-operation, organization, and, flowing inevitably from these, a Central Directing Authority.

Hoping you will accept this answer in the spirit of fraternal relations in which it is written, I remain yours for Industrial Freedom.

F. Martin.
INQUIRE OF ROOSEVELT'S PET, SENATOR BORAH OF IDAHO.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Will you please inform me, for the benefit of many inquirers, what has become of the "Hon." honest Harry Orchard?

E. B. Ford.
Faribault, Minn., February 15.

Watch the label on your paper. It will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third, the year.

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

C. P., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—Now to your third question—

The objection of "police," "armies," "navies," etc., naturally rises before the mind which conceives the proletariat disorganized, by being dislocated into craft Unions, which not only break up the proletariat into the "organized" (?) and the disorganized, but also breaks them up into mutually warring and upon one another scabbing bodies. Integral and class-conscious industrial organization out-matches all police, etc. Why, otherwise, the strenuous efforts of ALL reactionary papers against the I. W. W.? Read the pamphlet "As to Politics."

Next question next week.

J. B., PASADENA, CAL.—Now to your last question—

There are no histories combining the qualities you want. The nearest to such historic works comes Eugene Sue's "History of a Proletarian Family," now being issued by the Labor News. The broad economic history that the work traces, although placed in France holds good with the other nations. As to the Hebrew nation—that is cut up into a score of fragments.

V. C., VANCOUVER, B. C.—Now to your last question—

Whether it "would be possible, and, if possible, advisable, to elect one wage-earner (not a professional man or woman) but a real wage-earner, from each organization or group of organizations, in each State or Province, to a joint conference to be held, say, next January, to discuss a joint line of action to be followed by one grand united working class movement, or by the separate groups for their mutual benefit?"—Ask us something easier.

D. E. M., GRANITE, OKLA.—Now to your third question—

There were two periods in the "old Roman rule."

Under the first period the work, productive labor, was performed by that portion of the plebeian Order which was proletarian. These were the artisans, farm hands and domestic servants. These were Roman citizens, fellow builders of Rome, who had already been pauperized under the male rule that prevailed in the tribal organizations which combined in founding Rome. (See Morgan's Ancient Society.)

Under the second and last period the work was performed by slaves. These were the captives taken in foreign wars. (See "Two Pages from Roman History"). In the measure that labor became the attribute of a slave class, the former plebs proletarians were deprived of their former opportunity to earn a living. Being Roman citizens they became a species of Lazzaroni, dependent upon the State.

Next question next week.

R. R., ROCHESTER, PA.—Now to your last question—

Debs was a member of the I. W. W., through membership in a Terre Haute I. W. W. local.

J. M. F., DU QUOIN, ILL.—Now to your second question—

The status of industrial production in the South is that of struggling capitalism. It is far from the "top capitalist" stage. "Top capitalism" is high finance and robustious Trustism.

Next question next week.

M. H., BUTTE, MONT.—Need has a tendency to engender the thing needed.

H. R. H., TOLEDO, O.—The Socialist Labor Party never hesitates to advertise its foes. The Party is only too anxious to have its foes known, and known well. Its foes, however, instinctively dislike the publicity given them. They prefer to be allowed to work in the dark.

A. D., PHILA., PA.—How are craft Unions organized to-day? They are organized upon a principle that ignores the close interdependence of all branches of Labor. Some craft Unions are organized on a somewhat industrial basis in that they are closely connected with the trades obviously akin to them. But they do not recognize their equal kinship with all other trades. "Integral" organization means organization of the working class as a whole.

The States of the Union are "integral" organized—they are organized as ONE nation. The integral organiza-

tion of Working Class means their organization as ONE body, like the Nation is.

"NEW YORKER." NEW YORK.

The middle class elements in your Socialist party are justified in demanding that their reform interests and reform views be attended to. The bulk of the S. P. vote is now middle class, and "intellectual" which is middle-class.

N. S., COLUMBUS, O.—It is a misapplication of terms to propose that the Government, meaning the capitalist Government, shall own the railroads. The practical result of such a system would be that the railroads would own the Governments.

T. J., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Quite simply. If the small farmer class is told that the class interests of the proletariat are identical with the class interests of the small farmer class, then the small farmer will correctly conclude that his own class interests are identical with those of the proletariat. Drawn into the Socialist Movement by so unintelligent a principle, the small farmer, whose class interests are cheapness of everything he buys, will naturally strain to promote these interests—are not his class interests "identical with those of the proletariat"? Why should he not promote them? The consequence is obvious. The day of his victory is the day of proletarian disappointment.

J. G., NEW YORK.—Notice came too late.

J. P., MOUNTAIN VIEW, WASH.—The last page never came.

O. McC., PORTLAND, ORE.—The Panama Ditch has already cost twice the amount of money that was at first named as ample to build the Canal. Never yet was there such an instance of public plunder.

A. M., PAWTUCKET, R. I.—Never fear The People will slacken in its hammer blows upon the "Me-too fellows." Every blow The People deals over the skull of capitalism lands upon the cranium of the "me-toos"—and vice versa.

L. M., CHEYENNE, WYO.—The Address issued by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party last January analyzes in detail the experience of the last Presidential election. A copy will be furnished you. Nothing short of class-consciousness and the economic organization of the proletariat to match, will secure the Labor vote from being frightened into the political camp of the top-capitalists. Such an economic organization was started by the launching of the I. W. W. in 1905. Agencies from the A. F. of L. and of the S. P., immediately sought to batter down the new body. The I. W. W. officials at Chicago, some stupidly, others corruptly, allowed themselves to be used by these agencies. The consequence was that, at the election of 1908, there was left only a shadow of what should by that time have been a powerful bona fide economic organization. The consequence was that Bryan and Debs got badly left especially in the industrial districts. The S. L. P. suffered—only. It was not disappointed, knowing what was to be expected from the disorganized state of Labor at large. The S. P., being a pure and simple political affair saw the spook of 2,000,000 votes.

Next question next week.

A. M., DENVER, COLO.; H. E. LYNN, MASS.; G. F., SEATTLE, WASH.; B. D. J., NEW YORK; J. M. N., MONTREAL, CAN.; R. K., CLEVELAND, O.; T. M., TORONTO, CAN.; G. A., MONTCLAIR, COLO.; P. C., CLEVELAND, O.; H. L., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.; H. S. C., LOS ANGELES, CAL.; H. H. L., NEW HAVEN, CONN.; L. C., PHILA., PA.; "PLEBS" MAGAZINE, OXFORD, ENG.—Matter received.

TEN CENT BOOKS.

Communist Manifesto.
Engels, Life Of.
No Compromise.
Socialism, What It Is.
Workmen's Programme.

New York Labor News Company,
23 City Hall Place, New York.

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Paul Augustine, National Secretary.
23 City Hall Place.
CANADIAN S. L. P.
National Secretary, Philip Courtenay,
144 Duquesne Ave., London, Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.
(The Party's literary agency.)
23 City Hall Place, N. Y. City.
Notice: For technical reasons no party
announcements can be in that are
not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

CONNECTICUT S. E. C.

Regular meeting held February 15 at
headquarters, 34 Elm street, Hartford.
J. Bremer was seated in place of A.
Gierginsky, and elected as chairman.
Fred. Lechner and Chas. Backofen ab-
sent.

Minutes of previous meeting adopted
with the correction that Section Ken-
nington received due stamps during the
last half year.

Communications: From J. Marek,
New Haven, regarding the report of
N. E. C.; from Section Hartford, nomi-
nated Hartford as place of next State
convention.

The State Secretary, Fred. Feller-
man, reported that nothing has been
received during the last month, there-
fore he recommends more activity in
the sections.

No further business on hand the
meeting adjourned.

Frank Knotek,
Sec. Secy.

MINNESOTA S. E. C.

The E. E. C. of the Minnesota S. L. P.
met in regular session February 11,
at 223 Edmund street, St. Paul,
Minn., with Hans Carstensen in the
chair. Members absent, C. J.
Smith, N. J. Peterson, Samuel John-
son, N. J. Chikanek.

Minutes of previous meeting read
and approved.

Communications received: From
Section Duluth, regarding nomination
of Theodore Zoller for member of
N. E. C.; from A. Olson, Parkers
Prairie, Minn., announcing his vote for
Herbert Johnson for office of State
Secretary; from Section Winona, an-
nouncing that Section cast its vote for
Herbert Johnson for office of State
Secretary, also enclosing money order
for \$1.50 for dues stamps; from H.
W. Bodholdt, Sturgeon Lake, Minn.,
announcing his vote for Herbert John-
son for State Secretary; also a remit-
tance of two cents; from Paul Augus-
tine, National Secretary, regarding
election of member of N. E. C. and
credentials; from Paul Augustine, Na-
tional Secretary, acknowledging receipt
of \$15 from Otto Olson,
State Secretary S. E. C.; from H. W.
Bodholdt, Moorhead, Minn., announc-
ing his vote for Herbert Johnson for
office of State Secretary, also remit-
tance of \$1.00 for dues.

Motion that E. E. C. meet again
March 4. Carried.

Motion to appropriate \$5 to buy 500
copies Weekly People for distribution.
Carried.

The vote cast by Minnesota S. L. P.
resulted in the election of Herbert
Johnson, 475 Como avenue, St. Paul,
Minn., for State Secretary.

Motion that State Secretary be paid
75 cents for postal expense, etc. Car-
ried.

Financial report: Balance on hand,
January 16, 1920, \$21.12; income, \$23.34;
expense, \$3.17; balance on hand Feb-
ruary 12, 1920, \$39.13.

Motion to adjourn. Carried.

William E. McCos,
Recording Secretary.

MINNESOTA NEW STATE SECRE-
TARY.

After a long and effective service,
Otto Olson, State Secretary of the So-
cialist Labor Party in the State of
Minnesota, has resigned from that of-
fice and Herbert Johnson, 475 Como
avenue, St. Paul, Minn., has been elect-
ed his successor. All correspondence
should be addressed to the latter.

INTERNATIONAL PARTY MEETING
IN CLEVELAND, O.

The second international meeting
jointly arranged by the various nation-
ally Branches of the Socialist Labor
Party of the United States and Canada,
S. L. P., takes place SUNDAY, February
29th, 3 p. m., at Hall No. 7, 2272 (old No.
350) Ontario street, German-American
Bank Building. Addresses in all lan-
guages represented in the local party
organizations. Each international meet-
ing is held every two months for the
purpose of making the comrades of the
various nationalities better acquainted
with each other and bringing about a
more harmonious system of agitation
and propaganda work. The first meeting
of this kind was highly successful and it
is hoped that the members will turn out
in even greater numbers at this coming
meeting. Bring your friends and show-
men and be assured you will have an
enjoyable time.

OPERATING FUND.

This has been another week of trial to
make ends meet. Were ours a privately-
owned plant, the burden would be of our
own making, and, consequently, borne
without a murmur. But when we con-
sider that every member of the Socialist
Labor Party, in one sense, is a direct
partner of our plant, that member must
not shirk his share of the burden. The
Party Press was founded for the pur-
pose of disseminating Socialist thought
by means of literature. We, at this end,
will see to it that that literature is sup-
plied; it is your duty to distribute the
same. Sell literature, obtain subscrip-
tions to the Daily and Weekly People,
and, if it is not in your make-up to act
as an active partner, play the silent role
by contributing to the Operating Fund.

L. O. Medicke, Pittsfield, Mass.	\$1.00
Holzer, Schmalz, Pittsfield, Mass.	1.00
J. A. Newport News, Va.	1.00
Per E. Moonella:	
H. Schrader, Albany, N. Y.	.50
M. Hirschfeld, " "	1.10
John Heller, " "	1.00
M. S. Schenectady, N. Y.	1.15
W. Cronfeld, " "	1.00
J. Bigstaff, " "	.50
D. Harrison, " "	.50
J. Kousch, " "	.50
G. McCune, " "	.50
Louis Toth, " "	.50
Paul Kulson, " "	.35
P. E. DeLee, Troy, N. Y.	5.00
Section Gloversville, N. Y.	1.75
W. J. Wuest, Utica, N. Y.	.50
J. Hochenberger, " "	1.00
J. Rapp, " "	.50
F. W. Gerner, " "	.50
Geo. F. Spettel, St. Paul, Minn.	5.00
Section Plainfield, N. J.	2.00
L. C. Haller, Los Angeles Cal.	.50
Geo. Brown, " "	.50
L. D. Reicht, " "	1.00
Mrs. Susie Bast, " "	.50
"Friend," Astoria, N. Y.	1.00
W. Sussbrich, Rockville, Conn.	1.00
	\$1.35
Previously acknowledged	\$3,572.12
	\$3,603.47

BUFFALO LABOR LYCEUM LEC-
TURES.

The following public lectures by So-
cialists and non-Socialists will be held
under the auspices of the Labor Ly-
ceum of Section Erie County, S. L. P.,
every Sunday afternoon, 3 o'clock, at
Florence Parlors, 127 Main street. An
instructive general discussion follows
each lecture. All readers of this pa-
per are invited to attend and bring
friends. Admission is free.

Schedule:
February 28—Boris Reinstein on
"Slum Elements and Slum Tactics in
a Revolutionary Movement."
March 7—John Shillady on "Postal
Censorship of the Press and Mail."
March 14—Attorney Arthur W.
Hickman on "Government."
March 21—Boris Reinstein on "Paris
Commune and the Lessons It Teaches."
March 28—Attorney Wm. J. Shields.
Subject to be announced.
April 4—Willard C. Vincent on "How
Shall the Working Class Organize?"

LECTURES IN ST. LOUIS.

The Socialist Labor Party will give
a series of lectures this winter at their
headquarters, 1717 South Broadway,
second floor, St. Louis. Lectures be-
gin at 7:30 p. m.

March 7—The Difference between
the Socialist party and the Socialist
Labor Party.

March 11—Does the Socialist party
represent the interests of the Work-
ing Class?

Discussions after each lecture. Ad-
mission free.

DETROIT LECTURES.

The Socialist Labor Party of De-
troit holds free lectures Sunday after-
noons, 2:30 o'clock, at 73 Gratiot ave-
nue. Instructive and important sub-
jects are discussed. Workingmen
should attend.

SUNDAY, February 28. Speaker, J.
Kortan. Subject: "The Class Strug-
gle."

CHICAGO COMMUNE CELEBRA-
TION.

A grand commune festival in com-
memoration of the Paris Commune will
be held under the auspices of the al-
lied branches of the Socialist Labor
Party (Section Cook County), at Work-
man's Hall, 13th and Waller streets,
Chicago, SUNDAY, March 14, 1920, at
3 p. m. Good speakers in all lan-
guages. Tickets twenty-five cents a
person.

The New York Labor News Company
is the literary agency of the Socialist
Labor Party. It prints nothing but
Socialist literature.

MILWAUKEE COMMUNE FESTIVAL

Section Milwaukee will celebrate the
Paris Commune SUNDAY, March 21, at
Bohemian Turner Hall, corner Twelfth
and Wine streets. One of the features
on the program will be the presentation
of the play, "The Dawn." It shows the
position which the enlightened working
class of America and Japan takes in an
imaginary war between the two coun-
tries. Admission is 15 cents; after 6
o'clock, 25 cents. Ball in the evening.
The Committee.

PRESENTS FOR BAZAAR AND FAIR

We herewith acknowledge receipt of
further presents for the Bazaar and
Fair to be held to-day at Grand Cen-
tral Palace.

W. Wipley, Newport News, Va., cash
donation 50 cents; E. Schade, Newport
News, Va., cash donation 50 cents;
Tetrakia, cash donation of one dollar;
F. Nagler, Springfield, Mass., box of
cigars; Miss B. Greenberg, city, three
pin boxes, three card boxes, two sofa
pillows, three glove boxes; O. Ruckert,
West Haven, Conn., seven thermo-
meters, hand carved frame; Mrs. C. E.
Warner, New Haven, Conn., glass fruit
dish; G. L. Saache, San Francisco, Cal.,
crochet centre piece, one dozen turn-
over collars (hand-made); George and
Co., Washington, D. C., four boxes of
tie (three tie in a box), ten sets of
gent's collar and cuff buttons, six scarf
pins; Geo. Signarowitz, Brooklyn, N.
Y., upholstered foot-stool; Emil Muel-
ler, Brooklyn, N. Y., pair of cuff but-
tons, fancy ladies collar, two towels;
Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Clark Joslyn,
Boston, Mass., fancy embroidered
centre piece; J. S. city, book, "Spencer's
Poetical Works"; Int. Art Crayon
Co., Brooklyn, N. Y., large pastel por-
trait of Daniel De Leon; E. Brodsky,
city, two bottles of witch hazel, three
one-pound boxes of talcum powder;
Mrs. J. Opman and Miss Beatie Op-
man, Jerome, Arizona, handkerchief
case and apron and necktie holder;
Mrs. Elizabeth Zimmerman, city, two
fine sofa pillows; Mrs. P. J. Dwyer,
Dunlap, Wash., handsome hand-em-
brodered sofa pillow; Meyer Stodol,
New Haven, Conn., Yale and Harvard
colors; I. D. Robbins, Brooklyn, N. Y.,
two boxes of toilet soap, three bottles
of cologne, stick of shaving soap; D.
Schwartz, Brooklyn, N. Y., pipe, four
tobacco holders and ash receiver; T.
Bosnie, Brooklyn, N. Y., pocket knife;
Miss Hattie Zimmerman, city, six
passpartout pictures; Mrs. H. Gunn,
Schenectady, N. Y., pair of crochet
slippers; Miss Grace Gunn, Schenec-
tady, N. Y., four pin bags; Miss Jessie
Gunn, Schenectady, N. Y., two burn-
wood articles; Mr. and Mrs. J. T. Hun-
ter, city, six bronze figures of Wash-
ington and Lincoln; Mrs. L. Miller,
Brooklyn, N. Y., toilet article; Mr. and
Mrs. J. Donohue, city, pair of fine
framed pictures, one dozen boxes of
Babbie's soap powder; Mrs. A. Grieh,
city, numerous small articles.

J. Loven, Brooklyn, N. Y., book; Miss
Etta Aul, Brooklyn, N. Y., ladies' fancy
collars; J. Epstein, Brooklyn, N. Y.,
two boxes of writing paper; Miss Lizzie
Dieler, city, four pieces of glassware;
Miss J. Katz, city, child's dress and two
paper baskets; Rose Rubin, Brooklyn,
N. Y., watch holder; A. Rubin, Brooklyn,
N. Y., two pocketbooks; H. L. Berger,
city, thirteen boxes of toilet soap, two
bottles of Florida water, two jars of beef
extract; Smith and Director, Brooklyn,
N. Y., two upholstered foot stools, roman
stool; Mrs. O. Sherrane, city, jardiniere,
two ladies' fancy leather bags, cigar
case, ladies' sewing set; Miss Beatie
Opman, Jerome, Ariz., hand painted
handkerchief case; Mrs. John Opman,
Jerome, Ariz., ladies' apron; Mrs. Olive
Johnson, Fruitvale, Cal., handsome cover
for sofa pillow.

L. Abelson, Organizer.

25 City Hall place, N. Y.

UNCLE SAM AND
BROTHER JONATHAN

(Continued from page 4.)

realize their far-reaching importance.
B. J. puckers up his brows,
U. S.—All the wages of the whole
diamond necklace and Brussels lace
working class, put together, will not
come anywhere near the amount of the
taxes paid in the land. For the same
reason that we could not have paid for
bodies of our employers' wives, the
working class cannot have paid these
taxes. From year end to year end, it
never had that amount of money in its
hands to pay with.

LIBRARIES I looked for in vain, in all
our lodges. It seems the members need
neither education nor knowledge. "In
Europe that may be necessary," said a
Union secretary, "but we American boys
learn those things at school." Neither
have I heard any addresses delivered at
any of the dozens of meetings which I
attended. Political, above all religious
discussions are strongly tabooed; also
economic topics. Not so? Oh, yes, the
by-laws kindly grant twenty minutes for
this thing. But it seems the brothers
do not think much of this—concession, or
care to avail themselves of it. The organs,
mostly monthly journals, have hardly
any educational value; their educational
work is infinitesimal. Their principal
contents treat of the doings of the vari-
ous vice-presidents. These are reported
with complacent amplex.

The ritual, described in the lodge
which I joined, is nevertheless scanty.
It is true the observance of the same

CORRECT CHICKEN CULTURE
BOOK \$1.00.

TOWN MONOPOLY ON CHICKENS
and EGGS \$1.00.

\$50 Net profit per week guaranteed.

CHAS. SPERLE,
Somerville, N. J.

THE METAL WORKERS' ORGANI-
ZATIONS IN THE UNITED
STATES.

(Continued from page 4.)

practiced by the superficially devout.)
Of course, no member not in "good stand-
ing" may be admitted; no Negro may be
proposed for membership; or one not ac-
quainted with the trade or helper may
be taught the trade. Whoever violates
this commandment is certain of expul-
sion.

All the Epistles were read off. The
new brothers now had to turn about,
front view towards the assembled
"Unionship." The latter thereupon
"formed," marched by in Indian file, and
pressed the hand of each of the new
brothers, saying: "I am happy to see
you," or "I am pleased to shake hands
with you as brother."

Also this cup, bitter in its flatness and
endlessness, passes. The "procession," to
the Financial Secretary, follows. But
he seems to be wholly oblivious of the
much boasted about American "hustle."
The same time that it took to attend to
the few dues payers, elsewhere as many
dozens are disposed of. The bookkeeping
or technique of dues paying is at fault
for this slowness.

The waiting afforded enough leisure to
observe and study the meeting. The sev-
enth point on the order of business was
now "before the house for discussion"—
announcements. A brother has died:
That his departure should be honored by
rising from their seats was unanimously
agreed, but not upon the length of time
when they should remain standing. There
was quite a diversion of views over the
period of 1 to 3 minutes. After quite a
long debate it was decided that the
"dead brother" should be honored by a
one minute rose. Several "chronometers"
flashed out of pockets. After the 60 sec-
onds had elapsed loud protests were
hurled against the chairman for over-
stepping the time. From the sublime to
the ridiculous is only one step.

Then the expulsion of three members,
for strike breaking, was moved. One of
them, who happened to be present grum-
bled a few indistinct words in assumed
astonishment, and was then requested to
leave the hall. The Committee of In-
vestigation also left the hall, but at once
returned, and recommended expulsion.
A vote was taken at once, resulting in
unanimous concurrence with the recom-
mendation. This procedure, with its
equanimity and swiftness was of fre-
quent occurrence. As difficult and cere-
monious as admission is, so easy and
unscrupulous is the firing out. One mem-
ber was sentenced to pay a fine of \$25.
He could or would pay only \$15. Nothing
doing. Result? Expulsion.

According to the by-laws, the order of
business of every meeting contains 15
points, which are gone through with
glacial exactness. Almost all of these
points would almost anywhere else be
disposed of in fifteen minutes under "mis-
cellaneous." In small things the master
shows himself here in frightful manner.
It was after midnight when I received
my membership book. The admission fee
(\$5), two months dues (\$2) and assess-
ment (\$1), in all \$8 or 33.60 marks it
cost me to become a member. But what
does that matter? These few dollars
weigh nothing with a proletarian, when
he thereby acquires "brotherhood" in the
"best and strongest Union on God's
earth."

Nosey as I am, I desired my card to
admit me in another local of the same
national organization. I assumed that
once a member of the organization, one
has without further ado access to any
other lodge of the same organization.
This assumption was a big mistake.

At the door of the other lodge I began
to practice my newly acquired "secret
work." Three knocks at the door—the
peephole opened. The above-in book
disappeared, but neither did it return,
nor did the golden gate open. After
several Rabelaisian quarters of an hour,
moments of embarrassment two "conduc-
tors" appeared and solemnly led me in.
In front of the "baptismal stone." After
a solemn speech of salutation by the
chairman, I was allowed to take a seat
among my "beloved brethren."

Libraries I looked for in vain, in all
our lodges. It seems the members need
neither education nor knowledge. "In
Europe that may be necessary," said a
Union secretary, "but we American boys
learn those things at school." Neither
have I heard any addresses delivered at
any of the dozens of meetings which I
attended. Political, above all religious
discussions are strongly tabooed; also
economic topics. Not so? Oh, yes, the
by-laws kindly grant twenty minutes for
this thing. But it seems the brothers
do not think much of this—concession, or
care to avail themselves of it. The organs,
mostly monthly journals, have hardly
any educational value; their educational
work is infinitesimal. Their principal
contents treat of the doings of the vari-
ous vice-presidents. These are reported
with complacent amplex.

The ritual, described in the lodge
which I joined, is nevertheless scanty.
It is true the observance of the same

was jealously guarded, and its prescrip-
tions rigidly enforced. But in other
places we saw and heard of still greater
mummeries, and the discussions and com-
ments on the ritual were still more
nauseating.

Then also the admission fee in other
Unions is higher than \$5, it is \$10, and
for re-admission \$15. Thus the admis-
sion fee rises until, in some organiza-
tions, it is as high as \$300, which is nearly
1,000 marks. This alone makes clear
that our Union is not for nothing called
in every respect "the best and strongest
on God's earth." Only once did we run
across, in a large village on the Missis-
sippi, one of our lodges which did not
use the ritual. This laxness is calculated
to cause a "full blooded American Union
man" to fall on his back. This cere-
mony-less lodge was a so-called German
one. The sergeant at arms a "Bohemian
colleague," and the chairman, a "Hun-
garian colleague," were not able to read
the Talmud of the Union. Against an
obstacle so massive there is of course no
help.

Fortunately, these ritual exercises are
very meagerly attended. Were 500 men
to attend a meeting the "exercises"
could not be gone through. With only a
few dozen participants such pastimes can
be indulged in. As a matter of course,
were the American Trades Union move-
ment an organization, that is, an organ-
ization with participating cells, instead
of a machine, moved by the officers, the
whole trappings of mummery, the closed
doors, and the high initiation fees would
disappear tracelessly. A movement, that
is to be carried on by the mass of the
people must be easily accessible to all,
and also easy to understand.

Tell a "true blue Union man" that
the European Trades Unions have no
rituals, but an open door to all workers,
and he will cry out in horror: "For
heaven's sake, you must be overrun by
Pinkertens, and the employers know all
your secrets." Is he answered, that
abroad the Unions have no secrets, and
that the Pinkerton tribes are fostered on
American soil through Union mummeries,
and the corruption among Union officials
is a thing hardly known abroad, he will
simply shake his head like a doubting
Thomas. With him it is a settled thing
that in the "old country" the Trades
Union movement is not "up to date,"
as in America.

The wonder is that, under such circum-
stances, there are many workers who still
pick their way along the path of prole-
tarian duty, across this labyrinth, so
beset with hindrances. The wonder is that
in spite of the leaden weariness of the
meetings, they attend the same at all.
In Germany, for instance, it would be an
impossibility to convene a meeting a
second time, after such brainrapping dis-
cussions. It seems that, here where the
saying "Time is money" should be su-
perlatively applied, the worker fails to
perceive the tragic consequences of the
manner in which his time is squandered
and his perseverance is abused. But it
was Herbert Spencer who was struck
with the god-like patience of the Ameri-
cans towards abuses.

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